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ATHENAEUS

II

208

ATHENAEUS

THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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ABBREVIATIONS

Allinson =*Menander*, in Loeb Classical Library.
Aristoph. =Aristophanes.
Aristot. =Aristotle.
Athen. =Athenaeus.
Brandt =*Parodorum Epicorum Graecorum Reliquiae*, ed. P. Brandt, 1888.
Diehl =*Anthologia Lyrica*, ed. E. Diehl, 1922–24.
Diels =*Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*, ed. Hermann Diels.
F.H.G. =*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller.
Frag. ep. =*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel.
Hort =*Theophrastus*, in Loeb Classical Library.
I.G. =*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
Kaibel =*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kaibel (for Epicharmus, Sophron, Sopater).
Kock =*Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, ed. Th. Kock.
P.L.G.^{4} =Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th edition.
P.L.G.^{5} =5th edition of the preceding work, Vol. i. (Pindar), by Schroeder, 1900, reprinted with a new appendix (*P.L.G.*^{6}), 1923. Vols. ii. and iii. reprinted with indices by Rubenbauer, 1914.
Powell =*Collectanea Alexandrina*, ed. J. U. Powell, Oxford, 1925.
T.G.F.^{2} =*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck, 2nd edition.

The references are to pages, unless otherwise indicated.

In the case of an ancient author whose work is known only through quotations, a proper name following a reference indicates the modern editor or compiler of the quoted fragments. Thus, "Frag. 200 Rose" means the edition of Aristotle's *Fragmenta* by Valentin Rose; "Frag. 72 Gaede," Gaede's edition of the *Fragmenta* of Demetrius of Scepsis, etc.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE

Aemilianus Maurus, grammarian.
Alceides of Alexandria, musician.
Amoebeus, harp-player and singer.
Arrian, grammarian.
Athenaeus of Naucratis, the author.
Cynulcus, nickname of a Cynic philosopher, Theodorus.
Daphnus of Ephesus, physician.
Democritus of Nicomedia, philosopher.
Dionysocles, physician.
Galen of Pergamum, physician.
Larensis (P. Livius Larensis), Roman official, *pontifex minor*, *procurator patrimonii*.
Leonidas of Elis, grammarian.
Magnus, probably a Roman.
Masurius, jurist, poet, musician.
Myrtilus of Thessaly, grammarian.
Palamedes the Eleatic, lexicographer.
Philadelphus Ptolemaeensis, philosopher.
Plutarch of Alexandria, grammarian.
Pontianus of Nicomedia, philosopher.
Rufinus of Nicaea, physician.
Timocrates, to whom Athenaeus relates the story of the banquet.
Ulpian of Tyre, Roman jurist and official.
Varus, grammarian.
Zoïlus, grammarian.

ATHENAEUS

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

Γ

Ἑξῆς εἰσεκομίσθη ταγηνιστὰ ἥπατα περιειλη-
μένα τῷ καλουμένῳ ΕΠΙΠΛΩΙ, ὃν Φιλέταιρος ἐν
Τηρεῖ ἐπίπλοον εἴρηκεν. εἰς ἃ ἀποβλέψας ὁ Κύν-
ουλκος “λέγε ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “ὦ σοφὲ Οὐλπιανέ, εἴ
f που κεῖται οὕτως τὸ ἧπαρ ἐντετυλιγμένον.” καὶ
ὅς· “ἐὰν πρότερον δείξῃς σὺ παρὰ τίνι ὁ ἐπίπλους
εἴρηται ἐπὶ τοῦ λίπους καὶ τοῦ ὑμένος.” ἀντι-
κορυσσομένων οὖν τούτων ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· “ὁ
μὲν ἐπίπλους παρ᾽ Ἐπιχάρμῳ ἐν Βάκχαις·

107 καὶ τὸν ἀρχὸν ἐπικαλύψας ἐπιπλόῳ.

καὶ ἐν Θεαροῖς·

ὀσφύος τε πέρι κἠπιπλόου.

καὶ ὁ Χῖος δὲ Ἴων ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιδημίαις ἔφη· ‘τῷ ἐπίπλῳ ἐπικαλύψας.’ ἀπέχεις, φίλη κεφαλὴ Οὐλπιανέ, τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἵν᾽ ἤδη ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυλιχθεὶς κατακαυθῇς καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ζητήσεων ἀπαλλάξῃς. τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον τοῦ οὕτως διεσκευασμένου ἥπατος δίκαιος εἶ σὺ ἀπομνημονεῦσαι, προειρημένου σοι πάλαι ὅτε περὶ τῶν ὠτίων καὶ ποδῶν

THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS OF ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS

BOOK III (*continued*)

The next dish to be brought in was fried liver wrapped in "fold-over," the so-called *epiplus*, which Philetaerus in *Tereus* [a] calls *epiploon*. After gazing upon it Cynulcus said, "Tell us, learned Ulpian, whether liver thus encased is mentioned anywhere." He answered, "Show us first in what author *epiplus* is used of the fatty caul." Thereupon Myrtilus took up their challenge and said: "The word *epiplus* for 'caul' occurs in *The Bacchants* of Epicharmus [b]: 'The leader he hid in a caul'; also in his *Envoys* [c]: 'round the loin and the caul.' So, too, Ion of Chios in his *Sojournings* [d]: 'hiding it in the caul.' You are reserving the caul, my dear Ulpian, against the time when you shall be wrapped in it and consumed,[e] and so rid us all of your questionings. But it is only fair that you should cite testimony about liver dressed in this way, since you said a while ago,[f] when we were

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[a] Kock ii. 235.

[b] Kaibel 94.

[c] *Ibid.* 105.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 47.

[e] *i.e.* involved and confused in the discussion.

[f] Above, 95 a.

ἐζητοῦμεν, ὅτι[1] Ἄλεξις ἐν Κρατείᾳ ἢ Φαρμακο-
b πώλῃ εἴρηκε. πᾶσα δ' ἡ ἐκλογὴ χρησίμη οὖσα
εἰς πολλά, ἐπεὶ τὰ νῦν διὰ μνήμης οὐ κρατεῖς, αὐτὸς
ἐγὼ διεξελεύσομαι. φησὶ δ' οὕτως ὁ κωμικός·

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν[2] ὄστρεια παρὰ Νηρεῖ τινι
ἰδὼν γέροντι φυκί' ἠμφιεσμένα
ἔλαβον ἐχίνους τ'· ἐστὶ γὰρ προοίμιον
δείπνου χαριέντως ταῦτα πεπρυτανευμένου.
τούτων δ' ἀπολυθείς, κειμένων ἰχθυδίων
μικρῶν, τρεμόντων τῷ δέει τί πείσεται,
θαρρεῖν κελεύσας ἕνεκ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἓν
φήσας ἀδικήσειν ἐπριάμην γλαῦκον μέγαν.
c ἔπειτα νάρκην ἔλαβον, ἐνθυμούμενος
ὅτι δεῖ γυναικὸς ἐπιφερούσης δακτύλους
ἁπαλοὺς ὑπ' ἀκάνθης μηδὲ ἓν τούτων παθεῖν.
ἐπὶ τὸ τάγηνον φυκίδας, ψήττας τινάς,
καρῖδα, φύκην, κωβιόν, πέρκην, σπάρον,
ἐποίησά τ' αὐτὸ ποικιλώτερον ταῶ.
κρεᾴδι' ἄττα,[3] ποδάρια, ῥύγχη τινά,
ὠτάρι' ὕει', ἡπάτιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένον·
d αἰσχύνεται γὰρ πελιτνὸν[4] ὂν τῷ χρώματι.
τούτοις μάγειρος οὐ πρόσεισ' οὐδ' ὄψεται·
οἰμώξεται γὰρ νὴ Δί'. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοφῶς
ταῦτ' οἰκονομήσω καὶ γλαφυρῶς καὶ ποικίλως
οὕτω (ποῶ γὰρ τοὔψον αὐτός) ὥστε τοὺς
δειπνοῦντας εἰς τὰ λοπάδι' ἐμβάλλειν ποῶ
ἐνίοτε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.
τὰς σκευασίας πάντων δὲ καὶ τὰς συστάσεις
τούτων ἕτοιμός εἰμι δεικνύειν, λέγειν,
e προῖκα προδιδάσκειν, ἂν θέλῃ τις μανθάνειν.

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[1] Kaibel adds ὅτι.
[2] Dindorf adds οὖν.
[3] Dobree adds ἄττα.
[4] πελιτνὸν Porson: πελιδνόν.

discussing ears and feet, that Alexis mentions it in *Crateias* or *The Apothecary*. The entire passage is valuable as illustrating a number of things, and since your memory at present is not equal to it, I will recite it at length myself. The comedian says:[a] 'First, then, I spied oysters, wrapped in seaweed, in the shop of an Old Man of the Sea, and sea-urchins too. I grabbed them; for they are the prelude to a daintily ordered dinner. Next, I came upon some little fish, all trembling for fear of what was to happen to them. But I bade them have no fears so far as I was concerned, promising that I wouldn't harm a single one, and bought a large greyfish. Then I took an electric ray-fish, being mindful that when a lady lays tender fingers upon it she must not suffer any hurt from its thorny touch. For the frying-pan I got some wrasse, sole, shrimp, jack hake, gudgeon, perch, and sea-bream, and made the dish gayer than a peacock. Then came some meats—feet, snouts, and swines' ears, and liver wrapped in caul; for it is ashamed of its own livid colour. No professional cook shall come near these, or even look upon them. He will rue it, let me tell you. Rather, I shall myself act as steward, so cleverly, so smoothly, and elegantly (yes, I shall make the dish myself), that I shall cause the feasters now and then to push their teeth into the plates for very joy.[b] The preparation and composition of all these foods I am ready to disclose, proclaim, and teach for nothing if anybody wishes to learn.'

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[a] Kock ii. 335; *cf.* Athen. 314 d.

[b] *Cf.* 169 d.

Ὅτι δ' ἔθος τῷ ἐπίπλῳ περικαλύπτεσθαι τὰ ἡπάτια, Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν ὑπομνήμασί φησι Μετάνειραν τὴν ἑταίραν ὡς ἐν τοῖς κεκαλυμμένοις ἡπατίοις αὐτῇ πνευμόνιον ἔλαβε καὶ ὡς περιελοῦσα τὸ στέαρ εἶδεν, ἀνέκραγεν·

ἀπόλωλα, πέπλων μ' ὤλεσαν περιπτυχαί.

Μήποτε δὲ καὶ Κρώβυλος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς αἰσχυνόμενον εἶπε τὸ τοιοῦτο ἧπαρ ὥσπερ καὶ Ἄλεξις, ἐν Ψευδυποβολιμαίῳ λέγων οὕτως·

f καὶ πλεκτάνην στιφρὰν σφόδρ', ἐπὶ[1] τούτοις τέ που
αἰσχυνόμενον ἧπαρ καπρίσκου σκατοφάγου.

ἡπάτιον δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Παλαίστρᾳ Εὔβουλός τ' ἐν Δευκαλίωνι. δασυντέον δὲ[2] λέγοντας τὸ ἧπαρ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ συναλοιφή ἐστιν παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ διὰ δασέος. φησὶ γάρ·

χολὴν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐφ' ἥπατι.

108 Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἰχθύς τις ἥπατος καλούμενος, ὅν φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Εὔβουλος ἐν Λάκωσιν ἢ Λήδᾳ οὐκ ἔχειν χολήν·

οὐκ ᾤου σύ[3] με
χολὴν ἔχειν, ὡς δ' ἡπάτῳ μοι διελέγου;
ἐγὼ δέ γ' εἰμὶ τῶν μελαμπύγων ἔτι.

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[1] Meineke: ἐν A.
[2] Musurus adds δὲ.
[3] Porson adds σύ.

"Further to show that it was customary to wrap livers in caul, Hegesander of Delphi, in his *Commentaries*,[a] says of Metaneira the courtesan that she found a lung in a dish of cased livers, and when, on removing the fat, she discovered it, she cried out 'I am lost! My enfolding garments have been my undoing.'[b]

"Perhaps the comic poet Crobylus may be added to those who, like Alexis, speak of liver so prepared as 'feeling ashamed'; for in *The False Substitute*[c] he says: 'And verily he added a stout polyp's claw and to this again the shamed liver of a dung-eating boar.' Liver is mentioned also by Aristophanes in *Masters of the Frying-pan*,[d] by Alcaeus in *The Wrestling-school*,[e] and by Eubulus in *Deucalion*.[f] The word should be pronounced with rough breathing;[g] for elision before it in Archilochus is effected with an aspirate. He says namely,[h] 'You have no bile attaching to your liver (*eph hepati*).'

"But there is also a fish (*hepatos*) named from the liver, of which the same Eubulus, in *The Laconians* or *Leda*,[i] says that it has no gall: 'So you didn't think I had any gall, you talked to me as if I were a liver-fish? But I would have you know I am still a

---

[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 419. The text is defective; αὐτὴ is not intelligible as it now stands. Since the lung was the reputed seat of love, the exclamation may mean that her love was smothered, as Heracles was killed by the poisoned coat.

[b] An unidentified line, *T.G.F.*^{2} 857.

[c] Kock iii. 381.

[d] Kock i. 522, cited 96 c.

[e] Kock i. 762.

[f] Kock ii. 173, cited 100 e.

[g] *hepar*; when the preposition (*e.g.* ἐπί) before it is elided, its consonant is aspirated (ἐφ').

[h] *P.L.G.*^{4} 131.

[i] Kock ii. 185.

Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ φησι τὸν ἥπατον δύο λίθους ἔχειν τῇ μὲν αὐγῇ καὶ τῷ χρώματι παραπλησίους τοῖς ὀστρείοις, τῷ δὲ σχήματι ῥομβοειδεῖς.

ΤΑΓΗΝΙΣΤΩΝ δ' ἰχθύων μνημονεύει Ἄλεξις ἐν Δημητρίῳ καθάπερ κἀν τῷ προκειμένῳ δράματι.
b Εὔβουλος Ὀρθάννῃ·

πᾶσα δ' εὔμορφος γυνὴ
ἐρῶσα φοιτᾷ[1] τηγάνων τε σύντροφα
τριβαλλοπανόθρεπτα[2] μειρακύλλια,
ὁμοῦ δὲ τευθὶς καὶ Φαληρικὴ κόρη
σπλάγχνοισιν ἀρνείοισι συμμεμιγμένη
πηδᾷ, χορεύει, πῶλος ὣς ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ.
ῥιπὶς δ' ἐγείρει φύλακας Ἡφαίστου κύνας
θερμῇ παροξύνουσα τηγάνου πνοῇ·
ὀσμὴ δὲ πρὸς μυκτῆρας ἠρεθισμένη
c ᾄσσει· μεμαγμένη δὲ Δήμητρος κόρη
κοίλη φάραγγος[3] δακτύλου πιέσματι
σύρει τριήρους ἐμβολὰς μιμουμένη,
δείπνου πρόδρομον ἄριστον.

Ἤσθιον δὲ καὶ ταγηνιστὰς σηπίας. Νικόστρατος ἢ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Ἀντύλλῳ φησίν·

οὔποτ' ἂν[4] αὖθις αὖ[4]
σηπίαν ἀπὸ τηγάνου
τολμήσαιμι φαγεῖν μόνος.

Ἡγήμων δ' ἐν Φιλίννῃ καὶ γόνον ἐκ ταγήνου ἐσθίοντας ποιεῖ ἐν τούτοις·

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[1] The text is uncertain; *cf.* vi. 228 f.

[2] Casaubon: τριβαλλοπανόθρεπτα A.

[3] Perhaps we should read κοίλην φάραγγα, and I have so translated.

[4] Porson supplies ἄν, αὖ.

fierce fighter.'[a] Hegesander, in his *Commentaries*,[b] says that the liver-fish has two stones in its head similar in lustre and colour to those found in oysters, but rhomboid in shape.

"*Fish for frying* are mentioned by Alexis in his *Demetrius*[c] as well as in the play cited above. Compare Eubulus in *Orthannes*[d]: 'Every pretty woman who is in love resorts thither, as well as the runty lads who are nurslings of the frying-pan—wild Mohawks lounging in the cake-shops. In the same company, too, the squid and the maid of Phalerum,[e] wedded to lambs' entrails, skip and dance like a colt let loose from the yoke. The fan stirs up the watch-dogs of Hephaestus, rousing them to fury with the hot vapour from the pan, and the savour thus provoked leaps to the nostrils. The kneaded roll, Demeter's daughter, draws its hollow cleft along, made by the pressure of the finger to look like a trireme's ram—the best introduction to a dinner.'

"They used also to eat fried cuttle-fish. Nicostratus (or Philetaerus) says, in *Antyllus*[f]: 'Never again shall I venture alone to eat cuttle-fish from the pan.' And Hegemon, in *Philinna*, represents persons eating small fry also out of the pan in these verses[g]: 'Nay,

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[a] lit. "one of the black-bottoms," slang for "brave men."
[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 420. [c] Kock ii. 315. [d] Kock ii. 190.
[e] the anchovy. [f] Kock ii. 221. [g] Kock i. 700; 285 b.

μἀλλὰ ταχέως ἰὼν πρίω μοι πουλύπουν[1]
καὶ δὸς καταφαγεῖν κἀπὸ τηγάνου γόνον."

d Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐχ ἡσθεὶς ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ἀνιαθεὶς δέ, ἀποβλέψας ὡς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ὀρθάννου Εὐβούλου ἰαμβεῖα εἰπών·

"ὡς εὖ νεναυάγηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τηγάνου
ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς

Μυρτίλος· ὅτι γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων πριάμενός ποτε ἔφαγεν εὖ οἶδα, τῶν τινος οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος μοί ποτε τὰ ἐκ Πορνοβοσκοῦ Εὐβούλου ἰαμβεῖα τάδε·

τρέφει με Θετταλός τις ἄνθρωπος βαρύς,
πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δὲ κἀλιτήριος,
e ὀψοφάγος, ὀψωνῶν δὲ μέχρι τριωβόλου.

ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπαιδευμένος ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος καὶ οὐχὶ παρὰ τῷ Μυρτίλῳ γε, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ἄλλῳ τινί, ὡς ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτοῦ πῶς εἰς τὸν Μυρτίλον ἐνέπεσεν, ἔφη μοι τὰ ἐκ Νεοττίδος Ἀντιφάνους τάδε·

παῖς ὢν μετ' ἀδελφῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐνθάδε
ἀφικόμην ἀχθεὶς ὑπό τινος ἐμπόρου,
Σύρος τὸ γένος ὤν. περιτυχὼν δ' ἡμῖν ὁδὶ
κηρυττομένοις ὀβολοστάτης ὢν ἐπρίατο,
ἄνθρωπος ἀνυπέρβλητος εἰς πονηρίαν,
f τοιοῦτος οἷος μηδὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,
μηδ' ὧν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐκεῖνος ἤσθιεν
ὁ τρισμακαρίτης, εἰσφέρειν ἔξω θύμου."

Ἔτι τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ τοιαῦτά τινα παίζοντος ὁ Κύνουλκος ἀνέκραγεν· "ἄρτου δεῖ καὶ οὐ τοῦ

---

[1] Meineke: μάλα ταχέως αὐτῶν πρίω πουλύπουν ACE.

but go quickly and buy me a polyp, and let me eat small fry even from the pan.' "

Whereupon Ulpian, not pleased at this, but in some vexation, glanced sharply at us and recited these iambics from the *Orthannes* of Eubulus [a]: " 'How glad I am that that god-detested fellow—Myrtilus—has come to shipwreck on a frying-pan;' for I am sure that he never bought or ate any of these things, because one of his own slaves once recited to me these verses from Eubulus's *Pimp* [b]: 'I am kept by a cruel brute from Thessaly, a rich but avaricious sinner; a gourmand he, who spends as much as sixpence on a dinner.' The lad had a fine education, which he had got not in Myrtilus's house, of course, but when he lived with some other master. So I asked him how he had come to fall into Myrtilus's hands. He answered me in these lines from *The Chick* of Antiphanes [c]: 'When a child I was brought by a trader here to Athens with my sister. I am a Syrian. Put up at auction, this skinflint happened upon us and bought us—a fellow unsurpassed for villainy, the kind that won't bring anything but thyme [d] into the house, not even one of the things [e] the thrice-sainted Pythagoras permitted to be eaten.' "

While Ulpian was still jesting in this way, Cynulcus bawled, " We want bread (*artos*), and I don't mean

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[a] Kock ii. 192.

[b] Kock ii. 194; the last line is ironical.

[c] Kock ii. 79.

[d] food of the poor; *cf.* Aristoph. *Plut.* 253.

[e] *i.e.* vegetables (but not beans!) allowed by the Pythagorean regimen, which excluded meat.

Μεσσαπίων βασιλέως λέγω τοῦ ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ, περὶ οὗ καὶ σύγγραμμά ἐστι Πολέμωνι. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν ζ' καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Σικελία διὰ τούτων·

109 κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέμῳ Νότῳ
διεβάλομεν τὸ πέλαγος εἰς Μεσσαπίους·
Ἄρτος δ' ἀναλαβὼν ἐξένισεν ἡμᾶς καλῶς.
Β. ξένος γε χαρίεις. Α. ἦν ἐκεῖ . . . . μέγας
καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν.

οὐ τούτου οὖν τοῦ Ἄρτου ὁ νῦν καιρὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν εὑρημένων ὑπὸ τῆς Σιτοῦς καλουμένης Δήμητρος καὶ Ἱμαλίδος[1]· οὕτως γὰρ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Συρακοσίοις τιμᾶται, ὡς ὁ[2] αὐτὸς Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Μορύχου. ἐν δὲ τῷ α' τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον ἐν Σκώλῳ φησὶ τῷ Βοιωτιακῷ Μεγαλ-
b άρτου καὶ Μεγαλομάζου ἀγάλματα ἱδρῦσθαι.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη ἄρτοι εἰσεκομίζοντο καὶ πλῆθος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων, ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὰ ἔφη·

“τοῖς ἄρτοις[3] ὅσας
ἱστᾶσι παγίδας οἱ ταλαίπωροι βροτοί,

φησὶν Ἄλεξις ἐν τῇ Εἰς τὸ φρέαρ. ἡμεῖς οὖν εἴπωμέν τι καὶ περὶ ΑΡΤΩΝ.”

Προφθάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη· “Τρύφων ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς φυτικοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις ἄρτων ἐκτίθεται γένη, εἴ τι κἀγὼ μέμνημαι, ζυμίτην, ἄζυμον, σεμιδαλίτην, χονδρίτην, συγκομι-

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[1] Schweighäuser: Σιμαλίδος A.

[2] Schweighäuser adds ὁ.

[3] ἄρτοις may belong to the speaker, not to Alexis, being substituted for some word like πτηνοῖς, “birds.”

the Artos who was king of the Messapii in Iapygia, concerning whom there is a tract by Polemon.[a] He is mentioned by Thucydides also in Book vii.,[b] and by the comic poet Demetrius in the play entitled *Sicily*[c]: 'A. From there, with the wind in the south, we crossed the main to Italy and the country of the Messapii. And Artos received and entertained us nobly.—B. Ay, a pleasant host.—A. Large was he in that country, and white.'[d] On the present occasion, it wasn't Artos (Bread) that was wanted, but the loaves invented by Demeter, our Lady of the Grain and of Abundance. For with these titles the goddess is honoured in Syracuse, as the same Polemon records in his work on Morychus.[e] And in Book i. of his *Reply to Timaeus* he says that in the Boeotian town of Scolus there are images enshrined of Megalartus and Megalomazus.[f]"

When, presently, loaves of bread were brought in and there was, in addition, an abundance of all sorts of food, he looked at them and said, "'How many traps to catch bread do unhappy mortals set,'" quoting Alexis in the comedy called *Into the Well*.[g] "Suppose we, then, talk about *Bread*."

But Pontianus anticipated him and said: "Tryphon of Alexandria, in *Plant Life*,[h] names the different sorts of bread, if I remember rightly, as follows: raised bread, unleavened bread, bread made with fine flour, with groats, with unbolted meal (the last, he

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[a] Frag. 89 Preller. [b] ch. 33 (Artas). [c] Kock i. 795.

[d] The epithets apply equally well to a generous host and a generous loaf.

[e] Frag. 74 Preller.

[f] Big Loaf and Big Barley-cake. [g] Kock ii. 319.

[h] Frag. 117 Velsen. The sentence in parenthesis may be from Tryphon's medical authority, Diocles.

c στόν—τοῦτον δ' εἶναί φησι καὶ διαχωρητικώτερον τοῦ καθαροῦ—τὸν ἐξ ὀλυρῶν, τὸν ἐκ τιφῶν, τὸν ἐκ μελινῶν. γίνεται μέν, φησίν, ὁ χονδρίτης ἐκ τῶν ζειῶν· ἐκ γὰρ κριθῆς χόνδρον μὴ γίνεσθαι. παρὰ δὲ τὰς ὀπτήσεις ὀνομάζεσθαι ἰπνίτην, οὗ μνημονεύειν Τιμοκλέα ἐν Ψευδολησταῖς οὕτως·

> καταμαθὼν δὲ κειμένην θερμὴν σκάφην
> θερμῶν ἰπνιτῶν ἤσθιον.

ΕΣΧΑΡΙΤΗΣ. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀντίδοτος ἐν Πρωτοχόρῳ·

> λαβόντα θερμοὺς ἐσχαρίτας, πῶς γὰρ οὔ;
> τούτους ἀνειλίττοντα βάπτειν εἰς γλυκύν.

d καὶ Κρώβυλος ἐν Ἀπαγχομένῳ·

> καὶ σκάφην λαβών τινα
> τῶν ἐσχαριτῶν τῶν καθαρῶν.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Διαγόραν ἐπι-
στολῇ συγκρίνων τὰ Ἀθήνησι γινόμενα τῶν ἐδωδί-
μων πρὸς τὰ ἐν Ῥόδῳ φησίν· 'ἔτι δὲ σεμνυνο-
μένων παρ' ἐκείνοις τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄρτων, ἀρχο-
μένου μὲν τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μεσοῦντος οὐθὲν λειπο-
μένους ἐπιφέρουσιν· ἀπειρηκότων δὲ καὶ πεπλη-
e ρωμένων ἡδίστην ἐπεισάγουσι διατριβὴν τὸν διά-
χριστον ἐσχαρίτην καλούμενον, ὃς οὕτω κέκραται
τοῖς μειλίγμασι καὶ τῇ μαλακότητι καὶ τοιαύτην ἐν-
θρυπτόμενος ἔχει πρὸς τὸν γλυκὺν συναυλίαν ὥστε
προσβιαζόμενος θαυμαστόν τι συντελεῖ· καθάπερ
γὰρ ἀνανήφειν πολλάκις γίνεται τὸν μεθύοντα, τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀναπεινῆν γίνεται
τὸν ἐσθίοντα.'

ΑΤΑΒΥΡΙΤΗΝ. Σώπατρος ἐν Κνιδίᾳ·

> Ἀταβυρίτης δ' ἄρτος ἦν πλησίγναθος.

declares, is more laxative than that made of refined flour), bread made of rye, of spelt, and of millet. The groat bread, he says, is made of rice-wheat, for it cannot be made of barley. 'Oven-bread' is so named from being baked; it is mentioned by Timocles in *Sham Robbers*[a] thus: 'Seeing that a dough-pan fresh from the fire was lying there, I ate some of the oven-bread piping hot.' *Brazier-bread*[b] is mentioned by Antidotus in *The Premier Danseur*[c]: 'He took some hot brazier-bread—why not?—and folding it over he dipped it into sweet wine.' Also by Crobylus in *The Suicide*:[d] 'taking a dough-pan full of fine brazier-bread.' Further, Lynceus of Samos, in his letter to Diagoras, compares the food used in Athens with that of Rhodes, and says: 'Besides, the bread sold in their market is famous, and they bring it in at the beginning and the middle of a banquet without stint. And when they are tired and sated with eating, they then introduce a most delightful allurement in what is called smeared brazier-bread. It is a soft and delectable compound dipped in sweet wine, with such harmonious effect that a marvellous result comes to one whether he will or no; for just as the drunken man often becomes sober again, so the eater of it grows hungry again with its delicious flavour.'

"Another kind listed by Tryphon is *Atabyrite bread.* Sopater mentions it in *The Woman of Cnidus*[e]: 'And there was an Atabyrite loaf to stuff the jaws.'

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[a] Kock ii. 465.

[b] The ἐσχάρα was an open brazier, not an oven.

[c] Kock ii. 411.

[d] Kock iii. 379.

[e] Kaibel 194.

ΑΧΑΙΝΑΣ. Τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου μνημονεύει Σῆμος ἐν η΄ Δηλιάδος λέγων ταῖς θεσμοφόροις γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ ἄρτοι μεγάλοι, καὶ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται
f Μεγαλάρτια ἐπιλεγόντων τῶν φερόντων·

> ἀχαΐνην στέατος ἔμπλεων τράγον.

ΚΡΙΒΑΝΙΤΗΝ. Τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρᾳ· ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἀρτόπωλιν διηρπασμένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλλόντων·

> τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα; Β. θερμούς, ὦ τέκνον.
> Α. ἀλλ' ἦ παραφρονεῖς; Β. κριβανίτας, ὦ τέκνον.
> Α. τί κριβανίτας; Β. πάνυ δὲ λευκούς, ὦ τέκνον.

110 ΕΓΚΡΥΦΙΑΝ. Τούτου μνημονεύει Νικόστρατος ἐν Ἱεροφάντῃ καὶ ὁ ὀψοδαίδαλος Ἀρχέστρατος, οὗ κατὰ καιρὸν τὸ μαρτύριον παραθήσομαι.

ΔΙΠΥΡΟΝ. Εὔβουλος ἐν Γανυμήδει.[1]

> διπύρους τε θερμούς. Β. οἱ δίπυροι δ' εἰσὶν τίνες;
> Β. ἄρτοι τρυφῶντες,

Ἀλκαῖος Γανυμήδει.

ΛΑΓΑΝΟΝ. Τοῦτο ἐλαφρόν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἄτροφον, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἡ ΕΠΑΝΘΡΑΚΙΣ καλουμένη. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἐκκλησιαζούσαις φάσκων·

> λάγανα πέττεται,

[1] ἐν Γανυμήδει is probably a mistake. *Cf.* Pollux vii. 23.

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[a] *Cf.* Demeter Achaia, *mater dolorosa.*

[b] *History of Delos*, *F.H.G.* iv. 494.

[c] Dough was often moulded in animal forms.

[d] Kock i. 422. For the scene *cf.* *Vesp.* 1387, *Pac.* 336, *Ran.* 346.

" *Achaenae loaves.*[a]—This bread is mentioned by Semos in the eighth book of the *Delias.*[b] He says that it is made in honour of Demeter and Korê. They are large loaves and a festival called Megalartia is celebrated by persons who contribute it reciting the words, 'a goat[c] full of lard for our Lady of Sorrows.'

" *Oven bread.*—Aristophanes mentions this in *Old Age.*[d] There he introduces a bread-woman whose loaves have been torn to bits by the animals which cast off their old skin. She says: 'What does this mean?'—One answers: 'Give us some hot rolls, daughter.' She: 'But you must be mad!'—'Fresh from the oven, daughter.'—She: 'What do you mean, fresh from the oven?'—'And very white, daughter.'

" *Bread baked in ashes.*[e]—This is mentioned by Nicostratus in *The High Priest,*[f] and by that great artist of cookery, Archestratus, whose testimony I will cite in the proper place.[g]

" *The biscuit.*[h]—Eubulus mentions it in *Ganymede*, as does Alcaeus in his *Ganymede*[i]: 'A. Hot biscuits, too.—B. And what are biscuits?—B. They are voluptuous loaves.'

" *Wafer bread.*—This is both light and thin, and the so-called *epanthrakis*[j] is even more so. The first (*laganon*) is mentioned by Aristophanes in the *Ecclesiazusae*[k] in the words, 'Wafers are baking';

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[e] *Cf.* the American hoe-cake.

[f] Kock ii. 223.

[g] Below, 111 f.

[h] *Cf.* "rusk," and German "Zwieback."

[i] Kock i. 757. See critical note.

[j] Rolled out and baked directly over the coals; another form of the word is *apanthrakis*. *Cf.* the *apopyrias*, 111 e, and the Jewish matzoth which, however, is unleavened.

[k] l. 843.

b τῆς δ’ ἀπανθρακίδος Διοκλῆς ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν α′ Ὑγιεινῶν οὑτωσὶ λέγων· ‘ἡ δ’ ἀπανθρακίς ἐστι τῶν λαγάνων ἁπαλωτέρα.’ ἔοικε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐπ’ ἀνθράκων γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παρ’ Ἀττικοῖς ἐγκρυφίας· ὃν καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀφιεροῦντες προτιθέασιν ἐσθίειν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἱερῷ.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ’ ἐν Ἥβης γάμῳ κἀν Μούσαις—τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα διασκευή ἐστι τοῦ προκειμένου—ἄρτων ἐκτίθεται γένη ΚΡΙΒΑΝΙΤΗΝ, ὅμωρον, σταιτίτην, ἐγκρίδα, ἀλειφατίτην, ἡμιάρτιον. ὧν καὶ Σώφρων ἐν γυναικείοις μίμοις μνημονεύει λέγων c οὕτως· ‘δεῖπνον ταῖς θεαῖς,[1] κριβανίτας καὶ ὁμώρους καὶ ἡμιάρτιον Ἑκάτᾳ.’

Οἶδα δ’, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅτι Ἀττικοὶ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ρ̄ στοιχείου λέγουσι καὶ κρίβανον καὶ κριβανίτην· Ἡρόδοτος δ’ ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἔφη· ‘κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ.’ καὶ ὁ Σώφρων δὲ ἔφη· ‘τίς σταιτίτας ἢ κλιβανίτας ἢ ἡμιάρτια πέσσει;’ ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς μνημονεύει καὶ ΠΛΑΚΙΤΑ τινὸς ἄρτου ἐν γυναικείοις· ‘εἰς νύκτα μ’ ἑστιάσειν[2] ἄρτῳ πλακίτᾳ.’ καὶ ΤΥΡΩΝΤΟΣ δ’ ἄρτου μνημονεύει ὁ Σώφρων ἐν d τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Πενθερᾷ οὕτως· ‘συμβουλεύω τ’ ἐμφαγεῖν· ἄρτον γάρ τις τυρῶντα τοῖς παιδίοις ἴαλε.’

Νίκανδρος δ’ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις τὸν ἄζυμον ἄρτον καλεῖ ΔΑΡΑΤΟΝ. Πλάτων δ’ ὁ

[1] θεαῖς Wilamowitz: θείαις A.

[2] μ’ ἑστιάσειν Meineke: με αἰτιᾶι σὺν A.

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[a] Kaibel 100.

[b] *Ibid.* 158.

[c] ch. 92.

[d] Kaibel 159.

[e] *Ibid.* 159.

[f] *Ibid.* 156.

the second, the *apanthrakis*, by Diocles of Carystus in Book i. of his *Hygiene*. He says: 'The *apanthrakis* is more tender than the wafer.' Probably this also is baked over charcoal, like the ash-bread of the Athenians; the Alexandrians, moreover, consecrate it to Cronus and set it forth in the temple of Cronus for anyone to eat.

"Epicharmus, however, in *The Marriage of Hebe* and in *The Muses*[a]—this latter play being a revision of the former—sets forth various kinds of bread thus: oven, neighbour, suet, honey-and-oil, lard-bread, and half-loaf. These are also mentioned by Sophron in his *Mimes of Women*,[b] as follows: 'A dinner for the goddesses—oven-bread, neighbour-cake, and a half-loaf to Hecate.'

"I know, my friends, that in Attic Greek the words for oven, *kribanos* and *kribanitês*, are pronounced with the letter *r*, whereas Herodotus, in the second book of his *History*[c] has a 'red-hot *klibanos*.' And so wrote Sophron[d]: 'Who is baking suet-bread or oven-bread (*klibanitae*) or half-loaves?' The same writer mentions also a kind of bread named *plakitês* ('flat') in the *Mimes of Women*[e]: 'She promised she would treat me in the evening to some griddle-cakes.' Cheese-bread, too, is mentioned by Sophron in the mime entitled *Mother-in-Law*,[f] thus: 'I advise you to snatch a bite; for someone has sent cheese-bread for the children.'

"Nicander of Colophon, in his *Glossary*,[g] calls unleavened bread *daratos*. Plato (the comic poet) in

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[g] Frag. 184 Schneider. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 438, where this ceremonial bread is offered at Delphi in behalf of brides and children newly introduced into their husbands' or parents' phratry. *Cf.* 114 b.

κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν Νυκτὶ μακρᾷ τοὺς μεγάλους ἄρτους καὶ ῥυπαροὺς ΚΙΛΙΚΙΟΥΣ ὀνομάζει διὰ τούτων·

καθ' ἧκεν ἄρτους πριάμενος
μὴ τῶν καθαρύλλων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλους Κιλικίους.

ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ΑΓΕΛΑΙΟΥΣ τινὰς
e ἄρτους καλεῖ. ΑΥΤΟΠΥΡΟΥ δ' ἄρτου μέμνηται Ἄλεξις ἐν Κυπρίῳ·

τὸν δ' αὐτόπυρον ἄρτον ἀρτίως φαγών.

Φρύνιχος δ' ἐν Ποαστρίαις αὐτοπυρίτας αὐτοὺς καλῶν φησιν·

αὐτοπυρίταισί τ' ἄρτοις καὶ λιπῶσι στεμφύλοις.

ΟΡΙΝΔΟΥ δ' ἄρτου μέμνηται Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ ἤτοι τοῦ ἐξ ὀρύζης γινομένου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ γιγνομένου σπέρματος, ὅ ἐστιν ὅμοιον
f σησάμῳ. ΚΟΛΛΑΒΟΥ δ' ἄρτου Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς·

λαμβάνετε κόλλαβον ἕκαστος.

καὶ πάλιν·

ἢ δέλφακος ὀπωρινῆς
ἠτριαίαν φέρετε δεῦρο μετὰ κολλάβων
χλιαρῶν.

γίνονται δ' οἱ ἄρτοι οὗτοι ἐκ νέου πυροῦ, ὡς Φιλύλλιος ἐν Αὔγῃ παρίστησιν·

αὐτὸς φέρων πάρειμι πυρῶν ἐκγόνους τριμήνων
γαλακτοχρῶτας κολλάβους θερμούς.

ΜΑΚΩΝΙΔΩΝ δ' ἄρτων μνημονεύει Ἀλκμὰν ἐν τῷ ε' οὕτως·

A Long Night[a] calls the large and dirty loaves 'Cilician' in these lines: 'And then he bought and sent us some loaves; don't think they were the clean, tidy kind; they were large Cilicians.' And in the play entitled *Menelaus*[b] he calls certain loaves *agelaioi*.[c] Bread of unbolted wheat is mentioned by Alexis in *The Man from Cyprus*[d]: 'He has just eaten a whole loaf of whole-wheat bread.' These are called *autopyritae* by Phrynichus in *The Weeders*[e]: 'With loaves of unbolted wheat and oily olive-cakes.'

"Sophocles in *Triptolemus*[f] mentions *orindes* bread, *i.e.* the bread which is made with rice, a seed which grows in Aethiopia and resembles sesame. A form of roll called *kollabos* is mentioned by Aristophanes in *Masters of the Frying-pan*,[g] 'Each of you take a roll;' and again, 'Or fetch me the paunch of a sucking-pig killed in the autumn, with some hot rolls.' These rolls are made of new wheat, as Philyllius makes clear in *Augê*[h]: 'Here I come in person, bringing the fruit of wheat three months in the growing, hot rolls as white as milk.' Bread sprinkled with poppy-seed is mentioned by Alcman in Book v.[i] as follows:

[a] Kock i. 624; *cf.* the gritty bread of modern Crete. *The Long Night* was that in which Heracles was born, *cf.* Plautus's *Amphitryo*.

[b] Kock i. 622.

[c] Herded together like rolls in a pan.

[d] Kock ii. 340. The comic jingle in ἄρτον ἀρτίως should be noted.

[e] Kock i. 380.

[f] *T.G.F.*² 265.

[g] Kock i. 520, 522; *cf.* 96 c.

[h] Kock i. 782.

[i] *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 74 b.

111 κλῖναι μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τόσαι τράπεσδαι
μακωνίδων ἄρτων ἐπιστέφοισαι
λίνω τε σασάμω τε κὴν πελίχναις
πεδεσσι[1] χρυσοκόλλα.

ἐστὶ βρωμάτιον διὰ μέλιτος καὶ λίνου.

Τοῦ δὲ ΚΟΛΛΥΡΑΣ καλουμένου ἄρτου Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ·

κολλύραν μεγάλην καὶ κόνδυλον ὄψον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ.

καὶ ἐν Ὁλκάσι·

καὶ κολλύραν τοῖσι γέρουσιν[2] διὰ τοὺν Μαραθῶνι
τρόπαιον.

b ὁ δὲ ΟΒΕΛΙΑΣ ἄρτος κέκληται ἤτοι ὅτι ὀβολοῦ πιπράσκεται, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἢ ὅτι ἐν ὀβελίσκοις ὠπτᾶτο. Ἀριστοφάνης Γεωργοῖς·

εἶτ᾽ ἄρτον ὀπτῶν τυγχάνει τις ὀβελίαν.

Φερεκράτης Ἐπιλήσμονι·

ὤλεν[3] ὀβελίαν σποδεῖν, ἄρτου δὲ μὴ προτιμᾶν.

ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ καὶ ὀβελιαφόροι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς παραφέροντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. Σωκράτης ἐν ϛʹ Ἐπικλήσεων τὸν ὀβελίαν φησὶν ἄρτον Διόνυσον εὑρεῖν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις.

ΕΤΝΙΤΑΣ ἄρτος ὁ προσαγορευόμενος λεκιθίτας, c ὥς φησιν Εὐκράτης. πανὸς ἄρτος· Μεσσάπιοι. καὶ τὴν πλησμονὴν πανίαν καὶ πάνια τὰ πλήσμια· Βλαῖσος ἐν Μεσοτρίβᾳ καὶ Δεινόλοχος ἐν Τηλέφῳ Ῥίνθων τε ἐν Ἀμφιτρύωνι. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶνα τὸν ἄρτον καλοῦσι.

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[1] Corrupt: Bergk conjectures *λίνῳ τε σασάμῳ τε κημπελαίναις πέδεστι χρυσοκόλλα*, "among the cakes and the rolls of linseed and sesame seed are golden sweets." In λίνῳ he understands ἄρτος λινωτός, "bread sprinkled with linseed."

'Couches seven, and as many tables laden with poppy-bread, and bread with flax and sesame seed; and in cups . . . golden sweets.' This is a confection made of honey and flaxseed.

"Another form of bread is the so-called *kollyra*, mentioned by Aristophanes in the *Peace*[a]: 'A mighty roll and a box on the ears as a relish to go with it.' Also in the *Merchantmen*[b]: 'And a roll for the veterans, because of the trophy they raised at Marathon.'

"*Obelias* bread is so named either because it is sold for an obol, as in Alexandria, or because it used to be baked on a spit.[c] Aristophanes in *The Farmers*[d]: 'Then there is a man who haply is baking a loaf on the spit.' Pherecrates in *The Forgetful Man*[e]: 'Fall greedily on the spitted bread and heed not the loaf.' *Obeliaphoroi* was the name also given to those who carried these loaves on their shoulders in processions. Socrates in the sixth book of *Epithets* says that Dionysus invented spitted bread in his campaigns.

"*Pulse* bread is the same as that which is called *lekithitas*, according to Eucrates. *Panos* is 'bread' in Messapian. Hence abundance is called *pania*, and things that satisfy *pánia*, by Blaesus in *Half-Worn*, Deinolochus in *Telephus*,[f] and Rhinthon in *Amphitryon*. The Romans, also, call bread *panis*.

[a] l. 122.
[b] Kock i. 499.
[c] ὀβολός, *obol*, twopence; ὀβελός or ὀβελίσκος, a spit.
[d] Kock i. 417.
[e] Kock i. 160. See critical note.
[f] Kaibel 150.

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[2] Bergk: τοῖς περῶσι A.

[3] Unintelligible. We may possibly take σποδεῖν (MSS. σποδιν) in the sense of "crumble," "crush." For ὤλεν Kock suggests εἴωθεν, "it is customary."

ΝΑΣΤΟΣ ἄρτος ζυμίτης καλεῖται μέγας, ὥς φησι Πολέμαρχος καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ἡρακλέων δὲ πλακοῦντος εἶδος. Νικόστρατος δ᾽ ἐν Κλίνῃ·

ναστὸς τὸ μέγεθος τηλικοῦτος, δέσποτα,
λευκός· τὸ πάχος γὰρ ὑπερέκυπτε τοῦ κανοῦ.
d ὀσμὴ δέ, τοὐπίβλημ᾽ ἐπεὶ περιῃρέθη,
ἄνω ᾽βάδιζε καὶ μέλιτι μεμιγμένη
ἀτμίς τις εἰς τὰς ῥῖνας· ἔτι γὰρ θερμὸς ἦν.

ΚΝΗΣΤΟΣ ἄρτος ποιὸς παρὰ Ἴωσι, Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησιν ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι.

ΘΡΟΝΟΣ ἄρτου ὄνομα. Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν β′ Ἑλληνικῶν γράφων οὕτως· ‘ὁ δὲ Κόδρος τόμον ἄρτου τὸν καλούμενον θρόνον λαμβάνει καὶ κρέας καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ νέμουσι.’

e ΒΑΚΧΥΛΟΣ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἄρτος σποδίτης παρ᾽ Ἠλείοις καλούμενος, ὡς Νίκανδρος ἐν β′ Γλωσσῶν ἱστορεῖ. μνημονεύει δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Διαμαρτανούσῃ οὕτως·

ἄρτους σποδίτας κρησερίτας περιφέρειν.

ἄρτου δ᾽ εἶδός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ΑΠΟΠΥΡΙΑΣ καλούμενος, ἐπ᾽ ἀνθράκων δ᾽ ὀπτᾶται. καλεῖται δ᾽ οὗτος ὑπό τινων ζυμίτης. Κρατῖνος Μαλθακοῖς· ‘πρῶτον ἀποπυρίαν ἔχω ζυμηταμιαδου πλεους[1] κνέφαλλον.’

Ἀρχέστρατος δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Γαστρονομίᾳ περὶ ἀλφίτων καὶ ἄρτων οὕτως ἐκτίθεται·

f πρῶτα μὲν οὖν δώρων μεμνήσομαι ἠυκόμοιο
Δήμητρος, φίλε Μόσχε· σὺ δ᾽ ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλεο
σῇσιν.

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[1] Corrupt. Meineke, understanding the speaker to be a Dorian, conjectures ζυμίταν μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ πλέον γναφάλλων.

"*Nastos* is the name given to a large loaf of leavened bread, according to Polemarchus and Artemidorus; but Heracleon says it is a kind of round, flat cake. Nicostratus has the word in *The Couch*[a]: 'There was a cake, my master, as big as this, and white; it was so thick that it bulged from the basket, and when the cover was taken off, an odour and a steam mingled with honey rose upward to the nostrils; for it was still hot.' 'Grated' bread is a variety in use in Ionia, as Artemidorus of Ephesus says in *Ionian Notes*.

"*Throne* is also the name of a bread. Neanthes of Cyzicus, in Book ii. of his *History of Greece*,[b] writes as follows: 'Codrus received a slice of bread, the so-called throne—also meat, and they apportion it to the eldest.'

"There is also an ash-baked bread in Elis called *bacchylos*, as Nicander records in Book ii. of his *Glossary*.[c] Diphilus, too, mentions it thus in *The Mistaken Lady*[d]: 'Carry round ash-baked bread of finely-sifted flour.' Another variety of bread also is the so-called *apopyrias* ('toasted'); it is baked directly over the coals. This is called a yeast bread by some, as Cratinus in *Mollycoddles*[e]: 'First, I have here some toasted leavened bread—none of your stuff filled with cudweed.'

"Archestratus in his *Gastronomy*[f] expounds thus the subject of barley-meal and bread: 'First, then, dear Moschus, I will call to mind the gifts of fair-haired Demeter, and do thou lay it to heart. The

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[a] Kock ii. 223.

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 3. The quotation is corrupt.

[c] Frag. 121 Schneider; apparently the *bacchylus* was connected with some Bacchic rite.

[d] Kock ii. 548.

[e] Kock i. 45; see critical note.

[f] Frag. 3 Ribbeck, 4 Brandt.

ἔστι γὰρ οὖν τὰ κράτιστα λαβεῖν βέλτιστά τε
    πάντων,
εὐκάρπου κριθῆς καθαρῶς ἠσσημένα[1] πάντα,[2]
ἐν Λέσβῳ κλεινῆς Ἐρέσου περικύμονι μαστῷ,
λευκότερ᾽ αἰθερίας χιόνος. θεοὶ εἴπερ ἔδουσιν
112 ἄλφιτ᾽, ἐκεῖθεν ἰὼν Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς ἀγοράζει.
ἐστὶ δὲ κἀν Θήβαις ταῖς ἑπταπύλοις ἐπιεικῆ
κἀν Θάσῳ ἔν τ᾽ ἄλλαις πόλεσίν τισιν, ἀλλὰ γίγαρτα
φαίνονται πρὸς ἐκεῖνα· σαφεῖ τάδ᾽ ἐπίστασο δόξῃ.
στρογγυλοδίνητος δὲ τετριμμένος εὖ κατὰ χεῖρα
κόλλιξ Θεσσαλικός σοι ὑπαρχέτω, ὃν καλέουσι
b κεῖνοι κριμνίταν, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι χόνδρινον ἄρτον.
εἶτα τὸν ἐκ Τεγέης[3] σεμιδάλεος υἱὸν ἐπαινῶ
ἐγκρυφίαν. τὸν δ᾽ εἰς ἀγορὰν ποιεύμενον ἄρτον
αἱ κλειναὶ παρέχουσι βροτοῖς κάλλιστον Ἀθῆναι.
ἐν δὲ φερεσταφύλοις Ἐρυθραῖς ἐκ κλιβάνου ἐλθὼν
λευκὸς ἁβραῖς θάλλων ὥραις τέρψει παρὰ δεῖπνον.

ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ὁ τένθης Ἀρχέστρατος καὶ τὸν τῶν
ἄρτων ποιητὴν ἔχειν συμβουλεύει Φοίνικα ἢ Λυδόν·
c ἠγνόει γὰρ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρτοποιοὺς
ἀρίστους ὄντας. λέγει δ᾽ οὕτως·

ἔστω δή σοι ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ ἢ Λυδὸς ἐν οἴκῳ,
ὅστις ἐπιστήμων ἔσται σίτοιο κατ᾽ ἦμαρ
παντοίας ἰδέας τεύχειν, ὡς ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς.

Τῶν δ᾽ Ἀττικῶν ἄρτων ὡς διαφόρων μνημονεύει
καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ οὕτως·

    πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις εὐγενὴς γεγὼς
δύναιτ᾽ ἂν ἐξελθεῖν ποτ᾽ ἐκ τῆσδε στέγης,
ὁρῶν μὲν ἄρτους τούσδε λευκοσωμάτους d

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[1] Meineke: ἠσκημένα A. [2] παστά Roehl.
[3] Brandt: ἐν Τεγέαις ACE.

best that one may get, ay, the finest in the world, all cleanly sifted from the rich fruit of barley, grows where the crest[a] of glorious Eresus in Lesbos is washed by the waves. It is whiter than snow from the sky. If it so be that the gods eat barley-meal, Hermes must go and buy it for them there. In seven-gated Thebes, too, there is good barley, in Thasos, also, and in some other towns; but theirs seem like grapestones compared with the Lesbian. Grasp that with understanding sure. Supply yourself also with the round roll of Thessaly, well twisted in the maker's hand, which Thessalians call *krimnitas*, but the rest of the world calls *chondrinos*.[b] Next, I recommend the scion of Tegea's fine wheat, baked in ashes. Very fine, too, is the wheat loaf made for the market which glorious Athens supplies to mortals; and the loaf which comes white from the oven in Erythrae, where grapes grow richly, and abounds in all the luxurious daintiness of the Seasons, will delight you at the feast.' Following this description, the *chef* Archestratus advises that the bread-maker be a Phoenician or a Lydian; he did not know that the Cappadocian bakers are the best. He says[c]: 'Be sure that you have in the house a man from Phoenicia or Lydia who knows how to make daily every kind of bread, no matter what you order.'

"The excellence of Athenian bread is called to mind in the following passage from the *Omphalê*[d] of Antiphanes: 'How could a man of gentle breeding ever leave this roof, when he sees these white-bodied

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[a] lit. "breast," referring to the shape of the hill.

[b] Both words refer to the coarser barley used.

[c] Frag. 4 Ribbeck, 5 Brandt.

[d] Kock ii. 83.

ἰπνὸν κατέχοντας ἐν πυκναῖς διεξόδοις,
ὁρῶν δὲ μορφὴν κριβάνοις ἠλλαγμένους,
μίμημα χειρὸς Ἀττικῆς, οὓς δημόταις
Θεαρίων ἔδειξεν;

οὗτός ἐστι Θεαρίων ὁ ἀρτοποιὸς οὗ μνημονεύει Πλάτων ἐν Γοργίᾳ συγκαταλέγων αὐτῷ καὶ Μίθαικον οὕτως γράφων· ‘. . . οἵτινες ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν ἢ εἰσὶ σωμάτων θεραπευταὶ ἔλεγές μοι πάνυ σπουδάζων, Θεαρίων ὁ ἀρτοκόπος καὶ Μίθαικος
e ὁ τὴν ὀψοποιίαν συγγεγραφὼς τὴν Σικελικὴν καὶ Σάραμβος ὁ κάπηλος, ὅτι οὗτοι θαυμάσιοι γεγόνασι σωμάτων θεραπευταί, ὁ μὲν ἄρτους θαυμαστοὺς παρασκευάζων, ὁ δὲ ὄψον, ὁ δὲ οἶνον.’ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ καὶ Αἰολοσίκωνι διὰ τούτων·

ἥκω Θεαρίωνος ἀρτοπώλιον
λιπών, ἵν’ ἐστὶ κριβάνων ἑδώλια.

Κυπρίων δὲ ἄρτων μνημονεύει Εὔβουλος ὡς διαφόρων ἐν Ὀρθάνῃ διὰ τούτων·

f δεινὸν μὲν ἰδόντα παριππεῦσαι
Κυπρίους ἄρτους· Μαγνῆτις γὰρ
λίθος ὣς ἕλκει τοὺς πεινῶντας.

τῶν δὲ ΚΟΛΛΙΚΙΩΝ ἄρτων—οἱ αὐτοὶ δ’ εἰσὶ τοῖς κολλάβοις—Ἔφιππος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι μνημονεύει οὕτως·

παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου δ’ ἐκ Θετταλίας
κολλικοφάγου κρίβανος ἄρτων.

Ἀριστοφάνης δ’ ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσιν·

ὦ χαῖρε κολλικοφάγε Βοιωτίδιον.”

113 Τούτων οὕτω λεχθέντων ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων

loaves crowding the furnace in close ranks, and when he sees, too, how they have changed their shape in the oven — deft imitations[a] made by Attic skill, which Thearion taught his countrymen?' This Thearion is the baker whom Plato mentions in the *Gorgias*,[b] coupling him with Mithaecus thus: 'When I asked you what men have been or are good at caring for men's bodies, you answered me with the utmost seriousness, Thearion the baker, Mithaecus, who wrote the treatise on Sicilian cookery, and Sarambus the wine-merchant; because they have proved themselves marvellous caretakers of the body, the first by making wonderful bread, the second relishes for meat, and the third by furnishing wine.' Aristophanes, also, speaks of Thearion in *Gerytades* and again in *Aeolosicon*[c] in these lines: 'I am come from the bakehouse of Thearion, where are the ovens' abodes.'

"But the bread of Cyprus also is mentioned for its excellence by Eubulus in these verses of *Orthannes*[d]: 'Hard it is to see Cyprian loaves and ride by; like a magnet they draw the hungry to them.' And as for the buns called *kollikia*—they are the same as the *kollaboi*[e]—Ephippus mentions them thus in *Artemis*[f]: 'From Alexander, from bun-eating Thessaly, comes an oven full of loaves.' And Aristophanes in *The Acharnians*[g]: 'Good-morning, you little bun-eating Boeotian.'"

At the end of this recital[h] one of the learned men

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[a] of animal forms, *cf.* 108 c, 109 f, 646 e.

[b] 518 B. The quotation should have begun with ἐμοῦ ἐρωτῶντος, translated above.

[c] Kock i. 392; *cf.* Eur. *Hecuba* 1.

[d] Kock ii. 192.

[e] 110 f.

[f] Kock ii. 250.

[g] l. 872.

[h] By Pontianus.

γραμματικῶν, Ἀρριανὸς ὄνομα· “ταῦτα σιτία
Κρονικά ἐστιν, ὦ ἑταῖροι. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ‘οὔτ’ ἀλφίτοισι
χαίρομεν (πλήρης γὰρ ἄρτων ἡ πόλις)’[1]
οὔτε τῷ τῶν ἄρτων τούτων καταλόγῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ
καὶ ἄλλῳ Χρυσίππου τοῦ Τυανέως συγγράμματι
ἐνέτυχον ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρτοποιικῷ καὶ πεῖραν
ἔσχον τῶν αὐτόθι ὀνομασθέντων παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν
φίλων, ἔρχομαι καὶ αὐτὸς λέξων τι περὶ ἄρτων. ὁ
ΑΡΤΟΠΤΙΚΙΟΣ ἄρτος καλούμενος κλιβανικίου καὶ
b φουρνακίου διαφέρει. ἐὰν δ’ ἐκ σκληρᾶς ζύμης
ἐργάζῃ αὐτόν, ἔσται καὶ λαμπρὸς καὶ εὔβρωτος
πρὸς ξηροφαγίαν· εἰ δ’ ἐξ ἀνειμένης, ἔσται μὲν
ἐλαφρός, οὐ λαμπρὸς δέ. κλιβανίκιος δὲ καὶ φουρνάκιος
χαίρουσιν ἁπαλωτέρᾳ τῇ ζύμῃ. παρὰ δὲ
τοῖς Ἕλλησι καλεῖταί τις ἄρτος ΑΠΑΛΟΣ ἀρτυόμενος
γάλακτι ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ἁλσὶν ἀρκετοῖς. δεῖ
δὲ τὴν ματερίαν ἀνειμένην ποιεῖν. οὗτος δὲ ὁ
ἄρτος λέγεται Καππαδόκιος, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ
c κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἁπαλὸς ἄρτος γίνεται. τὸν
δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄρτον οἱ Σύροι λαχμὰν προσαγορεύουσι,
καί ἐστιν οὗτος ἐν Συρίᾳ χρηστότατος γινόμενος
διὰ τὸ θερμότατος τρώγεσθαι καί ἐστιν . . . ἄνθει
παραπλήσιος.[2]

Ὁ δὲ ΒΩΛΗΤΙΝΟΣ καλούμενος ἄρτος πλάττεται
μὲν ὡς βωλήτης, καὶ ἀλείφεται ἡ μάκτρα ὑποπασσομένης
μήκωνος, ἐφ’ ᾗ ἐπιτίθεται ἡ ματερία,
καὶ ἐν τῷ ζυμοῦσθαι οὐ κολλᾶται τῇ καρδόπῳ. ἐπειδὰν
δ’ ἐμβληθῇ εἰς τὸν φοῦρνον, ὑποπάσσεται τῷ
κεράμῳ χόνδρος τις καὶ τότ’ ἐπιτίθεται ὁ ἄρτος καὶ
ἕλκει χρῶμα κάλλιστον, ὅμοιον τῷ φουμώσῳ τυρῷ.

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[1] An unidentified quotation; Kock iii. 488.

[2] Much has been lost, including the name of some flower.

present, Arrian by name, spoke up: "All this 'breadstuff,' comrades, is getting stale. For we have no interest either in barley (since the town is full of wheat bread), or in the list of these kinds of bread. For I have come across another treatise, beside those cited, by Chrysippus of Tyana, entitled *Bread-making*, and have made the acquaintance of all the terms here mentioned by many of our friends, and so I shall proceed to say something on my own account about bread. The bread called *artopticeus*[a] differs from that baked in ovens and furnaces. If now, you make it with hard yeast, it will be white and good to eat dry; but if with dissolved yeast, it will be light but not so white. Bread baked in the oven and furnace requires a softer yeast. The Greeks have a bread called 'soft,' which is made with a little milk and oil and sufficient salt[b]; the dough must be quite soft. This bread is called Cappadocian, since it is chiefly in Cappadocia that 'soft' bread is made. Such bread is called *lachma* by the Syrians and is found to be very serviceable in Syria, because it may be eaten when very warm. It also resembles a flower.[c]

"There is also a 'boletus' bread, so-called, shaped like a mushroom. The kneading-trough is greased and sprinkled with poppy-seed, on which the dough is spread, and so it does not stick to the trough during the rising. When it is placed in the oven, some coarse meal is sprinkled over the earthenware pan, after which the loaf is laid upon it and takes on a delightful colour, like that of smoked cheese.

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[a] Pliny xviii. 105.

[b] For leaven; *cf.* American "salt-rising bread."

[c] See critical note.

d ῾Ο δὲ ΣΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΙΟΣ ἄρτος συναναλαμβάνεται γάλακτι ὀλίγῳ, καὶ προσβάλλεται πέπερι καὶ ἔλαιον ὀλίγον· εἰ δὲ μή, στέαρ. εἰς δὲ τὸ καλούμενον ΑΡΤΟΛΑΓΑΝΟΝ ἐμβάλλεται οἰνάριον ὀλίγον καὶ πέπερι γάλα τε καὶ ἔλαιον ὀλίγον ἢ στέαρ. εἰς δὲ τὰ ΚΑΠΥΡΙΑ τὰ καλούμενα τράκτα μίξεις ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς ἀρτολάγανον.[1]’’

Ταῦτ᾽ ἐκθεμένου τἀριστάρχεια δόγματα τοῦ ῾Ρωμαίων μεγαλοσοφιστοῦ ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη· ‘‘Δάματερ σοφίας· οὐκ ἐτὸς ἄρα ψαμμακοσίους e ἔχει μαθητὰς ὁ θαυμάσιος Βλεψίας καὶ πλοῦτον ἀπηνέγκατο τοσοῦτον ἐκ τῆς καλῆς ταύτης σοφίας ὑπὲρ Γοργίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν. ὅθεν ὀκνῶ μὰ τὰς θεὰς εἰπεῖν πότερον αὐτὸς οὐ βλέπει ἢ οἱ ἑαυτοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῷ παραδιδόντες πάντες ἕνα ἔχουσιν ὀφθαλμόν, ὡς μόλις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὁρᾶν. μακαρίους οὖν αὐτούς, μᾶλλον δὲ μακαρίτας εἶναί φημι τοιαύτας δείξεις τῶν διδασκάλων ποιουμένων.’’ πρὸς ὃν ὁ Μάγνος φιλοτράπεζος ὢν καὶ τὸν γραμματικὸν τοῦτον ὑπερεπαινῶν διὰ τὴν f ἐκτένειαν ἔφη·

‘‘οὗτοι ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιευνάδες, ἀερίοικοι,

κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Εὔβουλον,

ἀνόσιοι λάρυγγες,
ἀλλοτρίων κτεάνων παραδειπνίδες,

οὐ χὼ προπάτωρ ὑμῶν Διογένης πλακοῦντά ποτε ἐσθίων ἐν δείπνῳ λάβρως πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον ἔλεγεν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν καλῶς πεποιημένον; ὑμεῖς

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[1] Dalechamp: ἄρτον ACE.

"*Twist* bread is prepared with the admixture of a little milk; there is added also a little pepper and oil or lard. But in making the so-called *artolaganon* ('wheat-wafer'),[a] a little wine, pepper, and milk are introduced, along with a small quantity of oil or lard. Similarly into *kapyria*, called by the Romans *tracta*, are put mixtures as into the wheat-wafer."

When the great Roman scholar had expounded this lore, worthy of Aristarchus, Cynulcus said: "In the name of Demeter, what learning! It's no wonder our admirable Bright-eyes has disciples by the hundreds, and has won so much wealth by this splendid erudition, surpassing Gorgias and Protagoras. Wherefore I swear by the goddesses[b] that I am in doubt what to say. Can it be that he himself cannot see, or have they who entrust themselves to him as pupils only one eye among them,[c] so that they can scarcely see because of their number? Happy, then, I should call them, or rather, they have passed on to the happy state,[d] since their teachers give them disquisitions like this." To him answered Magnus, a *bon vivant* who extravagantly admired the industrious zeal of this scholar: "'You, there,' to quote the words of the comic poet Eubulus,[e] 'live in the air with feet unwashed, sleeping on poor pallets of straw, foul gullets, which slyly feed on others' stores.' Did not your progenitor Diogenes once greedily eat up a whole cake at dinner, and in reply to a question say that he was eating some very good bread? And

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[a] *Cf.* above, 110 a.

[b] Demeter and Korê.

[c] Like the Phorcides (Aesch. *Prom.* 794), the three Gorgons who had but one eye and one tooth among them.

[d] Of the dead, often called μακαρῖται.

[e] Kock ii. 212.

δ' 'ὦ λοπαδάγχαι' κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ποιητὴν
Εὔβουλον, 'λευκῶν ὑπογαστριδίων,' ἑτέροις οὐ
παραχωροῦντες φθέγγεσθε καὶ τὰς ἡσυχίας οὐκ
114 ἄγετε ἕως ἄν τις ὑμῖν ὡς κυνιδίοις ἄρτων ἢ ὀστέων
προσρίψῃ. πόθεν ὑμῖν εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ΚΥΒΟΙ, οὐχ
οὓς ἀεὶ μεταχειρίζεσθε, ἄρτοι εἰσὶ τετράγωνοι,
ἡδυσμένοι ἀννήθῳ καὶ τυρῷ καὶ ἐλαίῳ, ὥς φησιν
Ἡρακλείδης ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ; παρεῖδε δὲ τοῦτον
ὁ Βλεψίας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ΘΑΡΓΗΛΟΝ, ὅν τινες καλοῦσι
θαλύσιον—Κράτης δ' ἐν β' Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου
θάργηλον καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκομιδῆς
πρῶτον γινόμενον ἄρτον—καὶ τὸν ΣΗΣΑΜΙΤΗΝ. οὐχ
ἑώρακε δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΟΝ καλούμενον, ὃς ταῖς
b ἀρρηφόροις γίνεται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ ΠΥΡΑΜΟΥΣ ἄρτος
διὰ σησάμων πεττόμενος καὶ τάχα ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ
σησαμίτῃ ὤν. μνημονεύει δὲ πάντων τούτων Τρύφων
ἐν α' φυτικῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ΘΙΑΓΟΝΩΝ
ὀνομαζομένων· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἄρτοι θεοῖς πεττόμενοι
ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ. ΔΡΑΜΙΚΕΣ δὲ καὶ ΔΡΑΜΕΙΣ[1] παρ'
Ἀθαμᾶσιν ἄρτοι τινὲς οὕτως καλοῦνται.

Καὶ οἱ γλωσσογράφοι δὲ ἄρτων ὀνόματα καταλέγουσι·
Σέλευκος μὲν ΔΡΑΜΙΝ ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων
οὕτως καλούμενον, ΔΑΡΑΤΟΝ δ' ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν.
ΕΥΝΙΤΑΝ δέ φησι ἄρτον εἶναι λεκιθίτην, ΕΡΙΚΙΤΑΝ δὲ
καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐξ ἐρηριγμένου καὶ ἀσήστου πυροῦ
c γιγνόμενον καὶ χονδρώδους. Ἀμερίας δὲ καλεῖ
ΞΗΡΟΠΥΡΙΤΑΝ τὸν αὐτόπυρον ἄρτον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
Τιμαχίδας. Νίκανδρος δὲ θιαγόνας φησὶν ἄρτους

[1] δράμεις Kaibel: ἀράξεις A.

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[a] Both terms refer to the first fruits of wheat harvested in early summer.

you yourselves, ‘greedy dish-lickers of white tunny steaks’—to quote Eubulus once more—never yield place to others, but keep up your din, and refuse to be quiet until somebody tosses you a bit of bread or bone as he would to a pack of dogs. How should you know that *dice*, not the kind you always use, are square-shaped loaves seasoned with anise, cheese, and oil, as Heracleides says in his *Art of Cookery*? Our Bright-eyes has overlooked this variety, as also the *thargelos*, called by some *thalysios* [a]; for Crates, in Book ii. of his *Attic Dialect*,[b] says that *thargelos* is the name given to the first bread made after the harvest. He has also overlooked *sesame bread*, and has not even noticed the *anastatos*, so-called, which is prepared for the *Arrephoroi*.[c] Then there is also the *pyramous*,[d] baked with sesame seed and possibly the same as sesame bread. Tryphon mentions all these varieties in Book i. of his *Plant Life*,[e] as well as those denominated *thiagones*, which are loaves baked in honour of the gods in Aetolia. *Dramikes* also and *dramês* are names given to certain kinds of loaves by the Athamanians.

“The compilers of glossaries, also, list the names of bread. Thus Seleucus has *dramis*, name of a loaf among the Macedonians, but called *daratos* by Thessalians. *Etnitas*, he says, is a bread made of pulse, while *erikitas* is the name given to a loaf made of coarsely cracked, unsifted wheat. Amerias, again, calls the bread of unbolted wheat [f] ‘dry-wheat bread,’ as Timachidas does also. Nicander [g] says that

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[b] p. 63 Wachsmuth.

[c] Two girls chosen for the festival Arrephoria to carry sacred objects in the procession in honour of Athena Polias.

[d] Honey-cake. [e] Frag. 116 Velsen. [f] *Cf.* 110 e.

[g] Frag. 136 Schneider; so Tryphon, 114 b.

ὑπ᾽ Αἰτωλῶν καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τοῖς θεοῖς γινομένους. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τὸν ὑποξίζοντ᾽ ἄρτον ΚΥΛΛΑΣΤΙΝ καλοῦσιν. μνημονεύει δ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοφάνης Δαναΐσι·

καὶ τὸν κυλλᾶστιν φθέγγου καὶ τὸν Πετόσιριν.

μνημονεύουσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Φανόδημος ἐν ζʹ Ἀτθίδος. ὁ δὲ Θυατειρηνὸς
d Νίκανδρος τὸν ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς ἄρτον γινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων κυλλᾶστίν φησι καλεῖσθαι. τοὺς δὲ ῥυπαροὺς ἄρτους φαιοὺς ὠνόμασεν Ἄλεξις ἐν Κυπρίῳ οὕτως·

ἔπειτα πῶς ἦλθες; Β. μόλις
ὀπτωμένους κατέλαβον. Α. ἐξόλοιτ᾽· ἀτὰρ
πόσους φέρεις; Β. ἑκκαίδεκ᾽. Α. οἶσε δεῦρο . . .
Β. λευκοὺς μὲν ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ φαιῶν τοὺς ἴσους.

ΒΛΗΜΑ δέ φησι καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐντεθρυμμένον ἄρτον καὶ θερμὸν Σέλευκος. Φιλήμων δ᾽ ἐν αʹ παντοδαπῶν χρηστηρίων ΠΥΡΝΟΝ φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ
e πυρῶν ἀσήστων γινόμενον ἄρτον καὶ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα, ΒΛΩΜΙΑΙΟΥΣ τε ἄρτους ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐντομάς, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι κοδράτους λέγουσι, ΒΡΑΤΤΙΜΗΝ τε καλεῖσθαι τὸν πιτυρίτην ἄρτον, ὃν εὔκονον[1] ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀμερίας καὶ Τιμαχίδας. Φιλίτας δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Ἀτάκτοις ΣΠΟΛΕΑ καλεῖσθαί τινα ἄρτον, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν μόνον καταναλίσκεσθαι.

Καὶ ΜΑΖΑΣ δ᾽ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἀναγεγραμμένας παρά τε τῷ Τρύφωνι καὶ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν. παρ᾽
f Ἀθηναίοις μὲν φύστην τὴν μὴ ἄγαν τετριμμένην,

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[1] ACE add τεύκονον, a dittography. Which form is right is unknown.

thiagones is the name given by Aetolians to loaves baked in honour of the gods. Egyptians call their sourish bread *kyllastis*. Aristophanes mentions it in *The Daughters of Danaus*[a]: 'Sing, too, of sour bread and Master Petosiris.' Others who mention it are Hecataeus,[b] Herodotus,[c] and Phanodemus in the seventh book of his *Attic History*.[d] Further, Nicander of Thyateira says that bread made of barley is called *kyllastis* by the Egyptians. The dirty loaves Alexis named 'grey-bread' in *The Man from Cyprus*[e]: 'A. Then how did you get here?—B. At considerable pains I got some loaves while in the baking.—A. The devil take you! However, how many have you brought?—B. Sixteen.—A. Fetch them here. . . . —B. There are eight of the white, and as many of the grey.' A *shot*, says Seleucus, is the name given to bread when hot and sopped in wine. Philemon, in *Complete List of Sacrifices*, Book i., says that bread made of unsifted wheat and containing all the elements of the grain is called *pyrnon*; loaves having incisions, he says, which the Romans call 'squares,' are named *blomiaioi*, while bread made of bran is called *brattimê*, or (by Amerias and Timachidas) *eukonos*. Moreover, Philitas, in *The Unruly*,[f] speaks of a kind of bread named *spoleus*, which he says was eaten only within the family circle.

"As for *barley cakes*, one may find them also recorded in Tryphon[g] and several other authors as well. Among the Athenians, to be sure, is the sort called *phystê*, in which the meal is not ground very fine;

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[a] Kock i. 457.
[b] *F.H.G.* i. 20; *cf.* 418 e.
[c] ii. 77.
[d] *F.H.G.* i. 367.
[e] Kock ii. 340; *cf.* 110 d.
[f] Frag. 55 Bach. The reference, apparently, is to a bread eaten by the Persian kings and members of the royal family. *Cf.* τὸ συγγενικὸν ἄριστον 48 e.
[g] Frag. 118 Velsen.

ἔτι δὲ καρδαμάλην καὶ βήρηκα καὶ τολύπας καὶ Ἀχίλλειον· καὶ ἴσως αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐξ Ἀχιλλείων κριθῶν γινομένη· θριδακίνας τε καὶ οἰνοῦτταν καὶ μελιτοῦτταν καὶ κρίνον . . .[1] καλούμενον καὶ σχῆμά τι χορικῆς ὀρχήσεως παρ' Ἀπολλοφάνει ἐν Δαλίδι. αἱ δὲ παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι θριδακίσκαι λεγόμεναι αἱ αὐταί εἰσι ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς θριδακίναις. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἀλκμάν·

θριδακίσκας τε καὶ κριβάνας νῶντος.[2]

115 Σωσίβιος δ' ἐν γ' περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος κρίβανά φησι λέγεσθαι πλακοῦντάς τινας τῷ σχήματι μαστοειδεῖς. ὑγίεια δὲ καλεῖται ἡ διδομένη ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις μᾶζα ἵνα ἀπογεύσωνται. καὶ Ἡσίοδος δὲ μᾶζάν τιν' ἀμολγαίαν καλεῖ·

μᾶζά τ' ἀμολγαίη γάλα τ' αἰγῶν σβεννυμενάων,

τὴν ποιμενικὴν λέγων καὶ ἀκμαίαν· ἀμολγὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον. παραιτητέον δὲ καταλέγειν—οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως εὐτυχῶς μνήμης ἔχω—ἃ ἐξέθετο πόπανα καὶ πέμματα Ἀριστομένης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος
b ἐν γ' τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας. ἔγνωμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον νεώτεροι πρεσβύτερον. ὑποκριτὴς δὲ ἦν ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ μουσικωτάτου βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ, καλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀττικοπέρδιξ."

Καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· "ὁ δ' ἀπελεύθερος παρὰ τίνι κεῖται;" εἰπόντος δέ τινος καὶ δρᾶμα ἐπιγράφεσθαι Φρυνίχου Ἀπελευθέρους, Μένανδρον δ'

[1] Supply ἔστι δ' οὕτω.

[2] κριβάνας νῶντος Bergk: κριβανωτῶς P.

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[a] Hesychius *s.v.* Βήρηκες says that these are large barley-

but there are, besides, the 'cress' cake, the *berex*,[a] the 'clews,' and the Achilleum; this last is probably made of 'Achilles,' or very fine barley.[b] There are likewise sandwich bread,[c] wine biscuit, honeycake, and lily loaf. . . . (A dance figure for choruses under the name of 'lily' is mentioned by Apollophanes in *The Bride*.[d]) The *thridakiskai* mentioned in Alcman are the same as the Attic sandwich bread. Alcman has it thus:[e] 'Heaping up sandwich bread and muffins.' Sosibius, in the third book of his commentary on Alcman, says that *kribana* is the name given to certain breast-shaped cheese-cakes. *Health* is the name of the barley-cakes distributed at festivals for all to taste. Hesiod[f] calls another kind of barley-cake *amolgaia*, 'a hearty barley-cake and milk from goats just running dry,' meaning the shepherd's cake full of strength; for *amolgos* refers to the height of vigour. But I must be excused from enumerating—since, in fact, I am not so fortunate as to remember—all the cakes and confections set forth by Aristomenes of Athens in the third book of *Articles pertaining to Ceremonial*. Even I, though younger, came to know this man, who was our senior. He was an actor of Old Comedy, a freedman of the highly cultivated emperor Hadrian, who called him his 'Attic partridge.'"

Then Ulpian said: "'Freedman'—where is that term found?" Someone replied that there was a play by Phrynichus entitled *Freedmen*, and that

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cakes, with projections on top called "horns." The "clews-bread" was moulded to resemble a clew of yarn.

[b] Theophrastus viii. 4. 2; Aristoph. *Eq.* 819.

[c] Eaten with lettuce, θριδακίνη.

[d] Kock i. 797.

[e] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 20.

[f] *Op.* 590. The word ἀμολγαία refers either to the milk or to the fine quality of the meal used.

ἐν Ῥαπιζομένῃ καὶ ἀπελευθέραν εἰρηκέναι καὶ
ἐπισυνάπτοντος . . .[1] πάλιν ἔφη· “τίνι δὲ διαφέρει
ἐξελευθέρου;” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔδοξε κατὰ τὸ παρὸν
ἀναβαλέσθαι.

c Καὶ ὁ Γαληνὸς μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι τῶν
ἄρτων “οὐ πρότερον,” ἔφη, “δειπνήσομεν, ἕως ἂν
καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούσητε ὅσα εἰρήκασι περὶ ἄρτων
ἢ πεμμάτων ἔτι τε ἀλφίτων Ἀσκληπιαδῶν παῖδες.
Δίφιλος μὲν ὁ Σίφνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν
προσφερομένων τοῖς νοσοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν ‘ἄρτοι,’
φησίν, ‘οἱ ἐκ πυρῶν κριθίνων εἰσὶ πολυτροφώτεροι
καὶ εὐοικονομητότεροι καὶ τὸ ὅλον κρείττονες, εἶθ'
οἱ σεμιδαλῖται, μεθ' οὓς οἱ ἀλευρῖται, εἶθ' οἱ
d συγκομιστοὶ ἐξ ἀσήστων ἀλεύρων γινόμενοι· οὗτοι
γὰρ πολυτροφώτεροι εἶναι δοκοῦσι.’ Φιλιστίων
δ' ὁ Λοκρὸς τῶν χονδριτῶν τοὺς σεμιδαλίτας πρὸς
ἰσχύν φησι μᾶλλον πεφυκέναι· μεθ' οὓς τοὺς
χονδρίτας τίθησιν, εἶτα τοὺς ἀλευρίτας. οἱ δὲ ἐκ
γύρεως ἄρτοι γινόμενοι κακοχυλότεροί τέ εἰσι καὶ
ὀλιγοτροφώτεροι. πάντες δ' οἱ θερμοὶ ἄρτοι τῶν
ἐψυγμένων εὐοικονομητότεροι πολυτροφώτεροί τε
καὶ εὐχυλότεροι, ἔτι δὲ πνευματικοὶ καὶ εὐανάδοτοι.
οἱ δ' ἐψυγμένοι πλήσμιοι, δυσοικονόμητοι. οἱ δὲ
τελείως παλαιοὶ καὶ κατεψυγμένοι ἀτροφώτεροι
e στατικοί τε κοιλίας καὶ κακόχυλοι. ὁ δ'
ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος βαρὺς δυσοικονόμητός τε διὰ τὸ ἀνω-

[1] Schweighäuser supplies the gap with ἄλλα τινά.

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[a] Kock iii. 126.

[b] There is no difference; ἀπελεύθερος is commoner. *Cf.* Eustath. 1751. 2.

[c] Apparently alluding to theories of the Pneumatici, a

Menander in *She Who Got Slapped* [a] also speaks of a "freedwoman"; he added other instances as well. Whereupon Ulpian again asked, "How does *apeleutheros* ('freedman') differ from *exeleutheros*?" [b] It was decided, however, to postpone this question for the present.

Just as we were on the point of attacking our bread, Galen said: "We shall not dine until you have heard from us also what the sons of the Asclepiadae have to say about bread and cake and meal as well. First Diphilus of Siphnos, in the treatise on *Diet for Sick and Well*, declares that bread made of wheat, as compared with that made of barley, is more nourishing, more digestible, and in every way superior. In order of merit, the bread made of refined flour comes first, after that bread of ordinary wheat, and then the unbolted, made of flour that has not been sifted. These are accepted as the more nourishing. Again, Philistion of Locris says that bread made of highly refined flour tends to promote bodily vigour more than bread made of the coarse; but he rates the latter second, and after that the bread of ordinary wheat flour. Nevertheless, bread of the finest meal has a poorer flavour and less nourishment. All fresh bread is more digestible than bread that has dried up, besides being more nourishing and more juicy; further, it encourages pneumatic action[c] and is easily assimilated. Dry bread, on the other hand, is surfeiting and hard to digest, and bread that is very old and dry has less nourishment, acts as an astringent in the bowels, and has a poor taste. Bread baked in the ashes is heavy and hard to digest because the

school of physicians who explained all physiological processes by the action of the breath. Wellmann 113.

μάλως ὀπτᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἰπνίτης καὶ καμινίτης δύσπεπτοι καὶ δυσοικονόμητοι. ὁ δὲ ἐσχαρίτης καὶ ἀπὸ τηγάνου διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπίμιξιν εὐεκκριτώτερος, διὰ δὲ τὸ κνισὸν κακοστομαχώτερος.[1] ὁ δὲ κλιβανίτης πάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς περιττεύει· εὔχυλος γὰρ καὶ εὐστόμαχος καὶ εὔπεπτος καὶ πρὸς ἀνάδοσιν ῥᾷστος· οὔτε γὰρ ἱστάνει κοιλίαν οὔτε παρατείνει. Ἀνδρέας δὲ ὁ ἰατρὸς ἄρτους τινάς
f φησιν ἐν Συρίᾳ γίνεσθαι ἐκ συκαμίνων, ὧν τοὺς φαγόντας τριχορρυεῖν. Μνησίθεος δέ φησι τὸν ἄρτον τῆς μάζης εὐπεπτότερον εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τίφης μᾶλλον ἱκανῶς τρέφειν· πέττεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς[2] οὐ μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου. τὸν δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ζειῶν ἄρτον ἄδην φησὶν ἐσθιόμενον βαρὺν εἶναι καὶ δύσπεπτον· διὸ οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς αὐτὸν
116 ἐσθίοντας. εἰδέναι δὲ ὑμᾶς δεῖ ὅτι τὰ μὴ πυρωθέντα ἢ τριφθέντα σιτία φύσας καὶ βάρη καὶ στρόφους καὶ κεφαλαλγίας ποιεῖ."

Μετὰ τὰς τοσαύτας διαλέξεις ἔδοξεν ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ δειπνεῖν, καὶ περιενεχθέντος τοῦ καλουμένου ὡραίου ὁ Λεωνίδης ἔφη· "Εὐθύδημος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐν τῷ περὶ ταρίχων Ἡσίοδόν φησι περὶ πάντων τῶν ταριχευομένων τάδ᾽ εἰρηκέναι·

> ἄμφακες μὲν[3] πρῶτον στόμα κέκριται αντα καὶ θιοην,[4]
> γναθμὸν ὃν[5] ηὐδάξαντο δυσείμονες ἰχθυβολῆες,
> b οἷς ὁ ταριχόπλεως ἅδε Βόσπορος, οἵ θ᾽ ὑπόγαστρα
> τμήγοντες τετράγωνα ταρίχια τεκταίνονται.

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[1] A (not CE) adds γάρ.

[2] ACE add καί. Perhaps αὐτοὺς ταχέως καὶ should be read.

[3] Bergk brackets μέν.

baking is uneven. That which comes from a small oven or stove causes dyspepsia and is hard to digest. But bread made over a brazier or in a pan, owing to the admixture of the oil, is easier to excrete, but steam from the drying makes it rather unwholesome. Bread baked in large ovens, however, excels in all good qualities, for it is well-flavoured, good for the stomach, easily digested, and very readily assimilated; it neither binds nor distends the bowels. The physician Andreas says that there is a kind of bread in Syria made with mulberries, the eating of which causes loss of hair. Mnesitheus declares that wheat bread is more digestible than barley-cake, and that bread made of one-seeded wheat affords more adequate nourishment, since it is digested with little trouble. But bread made of rice-wheat, if eaten too abundantly, is heavy and causes dyspepsia; wherefore they who eat it are not healthy. You must understand, too, that breadstuffs which have not been parched or ground produce winds, torpor, cramps, and headache."

After this lengthy discussion it was decided at last to dine, and when the *hors-d'œuvre* of salt fish had been passed round Leonides said: "Euthydemus of Athens, my friends, remarks in his work on *Salt Meats* that Hesiod has this to say about salted or pickled food: 'First in choice is the sturgeon with double-edged mouth, the fish which the rough-clad fisherfolk call the "jaw." The Bosporos, rich in salt fish, delights in it, and the people there cut the belly pieces into squares and make it into a pickle. Not

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[a] Some word like ἀντακαῖος, "sturgeon," seems to lurk here. *Cf.* vii. 315 d, and Herodotus iv. 53.

[b] Kaibel adds δν.

ναὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀκλεὲς θνητοῖς γένος ὀξυρρύγχου,
ὃν καὶ ὅλον καὶ τμητὸν ἅλες τρηχεῖς ἐκόμισσαν.
θύννων δ' ὡραίων Βυζάντιον ἔπλετο μήτηρ
καὶ σκόμβρων βυθίων τε καὶ εὐχόρτου λικιβάττεω[1]
καὶ Πάριον κολιῶν κυδρὴ τροφὸς ἔσκε πολίχνη.
'Ιόνιον δ' ἀνὰ κῦμα φέρων[2] Γαδειρόθεν ἄξει
Βρέττιος ἢ Καμπανὸς ἢ ἐκ ζαθέοιο Τάραντος
ὀρκύνοιο τρίγωνα, τά τ' ἐν στάμνοισι τεθέντα
ἀμφαλλὰξ δείπνοισιν ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τινος μαγείρου d εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ μουσικωτάτου Ἡσιόδου. πόθεν γὰρ εἰδέναι δύναται Πάριον ἢ Βυζάντιον, ἔτι δὲ Τάραντα καὶ Βρεττίους καὶ Καμπανοὺς πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τούτων πρεσβύτερος ὤν; δοκεῖ οὖν μοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἶναι τὰ ποιήματα." καὶ ὁ Διονυσοκλῆς ἔφη· "ὅτου μέν ἐστι τὰ ποιήματα, ὦ ἀγαθὲ Λεωνίδη, ὑμῶν ἐστι κρίνειν τῶν δοκιμωτάτων γραμματικῶν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περὶ ΤΑΡΙΧΩΝ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, περὶ ὧν οἶδα καὶ παροιμίαν μνήμης ἠξιωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Σολέως Κλεάρχου·

e σαπρὸς τάριχος τὴν ὀρίγανον φιλεῖ,

ἔρχομαι κἀγὼ λέξων τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὰ τῆς τέχνης. Διοκλῆς μὲν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς Ὑγιεινοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις τῶν ταρίχων φησὶ τῶν ἀπιμέλων κράτιστα εἶναι τὰ ὡραῖα, τῶν δὲ πιόνων τὰ θύννεια. Ἱκέσιος δ' ἱστορεῖ οὐκ εἶναι εὐεκκρίτους κοιλίας οὔτε πηλαμύδας οὔτε τὰ ὡραῖα, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα τῶν θυννείων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν ἔχειν τοῖς κυβίοις μεγάλην τε εἶναι διαφορὰν πρὸς πάντα

[1] Probably corrupt.

[2] Kaibel: φεύγων A.

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[a] *Cf.* 4 b.

[b] Requires a garnish.

inglorious in the eye of mortals, I ween, is the tribe of sharp-nosed sturgeon which jagged lumps of salt adorn either whole or sliced. Again, of tunnies, pickled in the right season,[a] Byzantium is mother, as well as of deep-sea mackerel and well-fed swordfish, while Parium Town is a glorious nurse of Spanish mackerel. And over the Ionian wave a Bruttian or a Campanian will bring as freight from Cadiz or holy Tarentum huge tunny hearts, which are packed tightly in jars and await the beginning of dinner.'

"These verses, in my opinion, come from some master cook rather than from the gifted Hesiod. For how could he know about Parium or Byzantium, to say nothing of Tarentum and the Bruttians and Campanians, when he lived many years before these places were settled? I believe, therefore, that the verses are Euthydemus's own." To this Dionysocles replied: "Who wrote the lines, good Leonides, it is for you others, famous critics as you are, to determine. Nevertheless, since we are on the subject of *salt fish*, I will proceed to tell what I know about it, with full details of the trade, including also a proverb which Clearchus of Soli thought worth quoting: 'Stale salt fish likes marjoram.'[b] Now Diocles of Carystus, in his work entitled *Hygiene*, says[c] that young tunny is the best among all lean varieties of salt fish, but of all fat fish the grown tunny is the best. But Hicesius records that neither young tunnies nor those called *horaia* are easy to digest, and further, that the flesh of young tunny resembles 'cube'[c] tunny and hence is greatly different from

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[c] Tunny cut and salted in squares. *Cf.* the modern scientific term *Cybium*, used of a genus of fishes of the family *Scombridae*, several members of which are here mentioned. Wellman 173.

τὰ ὡραῖα λεγόμενα. ὁμοίως δὲ λέγει καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ὡραίων πρὸς τὰ ἀφ' ἑτέρων τόπων
f λαμβανόμενα καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν θυννείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ."

Τούτοις προσέθηκεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος Δάφνος· "Ἀρχέστρατος μὲν ὁ περιπλεύσας τὴν οἰκουμένην γαστρὸς ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα φησί·

καὶ Σικελοῦ θύννου τέμαχος, φίλε Μόσχε, φαγεῖν χρή,[1]
τμηθὲν ὅτ' ἐν βίκοισι ταριχεύεσθαι ἔμελλεν.
117 σαπέρδῃ δ' ἐνέπω κλαίειν μακρά, Ποντικῷ ὄψῳ,
καὶ τοῖς κεῖνον ἐπαινοῦσιν. παῦροι γὰρ ἴσασιν
ἀνθρώπων ὅτι φαῦλον ἔφυ καὶ ἀκιδνὸν ἔδεσμα.
ἀλλὰ τριταῖον ἔχειν σκόμβρον, πρὶν ἐς ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
ἐλθεῖν, ἀμφορέως ἐντὸς νέον, ἡμιτάριχον.
ἂν δ' ἀφίκῃ κλεινοῦ Βυζαντίου εἰς πόλιν ἁγνήν,
ὡραίου φάγε μοι τέμαχος πάλιν· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐσθλὸν
b καὶ μαλακόν.

Παρέλιπεν δ' ὁ τένθης Ἀρχέστρατος συγκαταλέξαι ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ παρὰ Κράτητι τῷ κωμῳδιοποιῷ ἐν Σαμίοις λεγόμενον ἐλεφάντινον τάριχος, περὶ οὗ φησιν·

σκυτίνῃ ποτ' ἐν χύτρᾳ τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον
ἧψε ποντιὰς χελώνη πευκίνοισι καύμασι,[2]
καρκίνοι ποδάνεμοί τε καὶ τανύπτεροι λύκοι
ὑσοριμαχεῖν[3] ἄνδρες οὐρανοῦ καττύματα.
παῖ' ἐκεῖνον, ἄγχ' ἐκεῖνον. ἐν Κέῳ τίς ἡμέρα;

[1] Brandt adds φίλε . . . χρή.
[2] Madvig: κύμασι ACE.
[3] Corrupt.

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[a] Frag. 52 Ribbeck, 38 Brandt.
[b] Kock i. 139. The quotation is a riddle in more senses than one.

all the other tunny called *horaia*. In like manner he says there is a great difference in the *horaia* of Byzantium and those caught in other places, and this is true not of tunny alone, but of all other fishes taken in Byzantium."

To these remarks the Ephesian Daphnus added the following: "Archestratus, who made a voyage round the world to satisfy his stomach and appetites even lower, says:[a] 'Eat, dear Moschus, a slice of Sicilian tunny, cut at the time when it should be salted in jars. But the shabar, a relish from Pontus, I would consign to the lowest regions, as well as all who praise it. For few there be among mortals who know that it is a poor and insipid morsel. Take, however, a mackerel three days out of the water, before it enters the pickle and while it is still new in the jar and only half-cured. And if thou go to the sacred city of glorious Byzantium, eat again, I pray you, a slice of *horaion*; for it is good and luscious.'

"But the *chef* Archestratus has omitted to catalogue for us the so-called 'ivory' salt-fish mentioned by Crates, the comic poet, in *The Samians*. On this he says:[b] 'Once upon a time a tortoise was stewing some ivory salt-fish in a leather bowl over a fire of pine boughs. Crabs there were, and long-feathered wolves[c] fleet as the wind, ready to give battle to the pieces of sole-leather from the sky. Hit him! Choke him! Can you tell me, gentlemen, what day of the month it is in Ceos?'[d] That this 'ivory

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[c] "Wolf's feather" was a proverb used of anything preposterous; *cf.* "pigeon's milk," "Greek Kalends," "horse-marines," etc.

[d] *i.e.* can you guess the riddle? The inhabitants of Ceos were said to have no calendar.

c ὅτι δὲ διαβόητον ἦν τὸ τοῦ Κράτητος ἐλεφάντινον τάριχος μαρτυρεῖ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις διὰ τούτων·

ἦν[1] μέγα τι χρῆμ᾽ ἔτι[2] τρυγῳδοποιομουσική,
ἡνίκα Κράτητί τε τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον
λαμπρὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἀπόνως παρακεκλημένον
ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ᾽ ἕτερα μυρί᾽ ἐκιχλίζετο.

Ὠμοτάριχον δέ τινα κέκληκεν Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἀπεγλαυκωμένῳ, ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ποιητὴς ἐν Πονήρᾳ περὶ σκευασίας ταρίχων μάγειρόν τινα παράγει λέγοντα
d τάδε·

ὅμως λογίσασθαι πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι
καθεζόμενος ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὀψωνίαν,
ὁμοῦ τε συντάξαι τί πρῶτον οἰστέον
ἡδυντέον τε πῶς ἕκαστόν ἐστί μοι.
. . . τάριχος πρῶτον ὡραῖον τοδί·
διωβόλου τοῦτ᾽ ἐστί. πλυτέον εὖ μάλα.
εἶτ᾽ εἰς λοπάδιον ὑποπάσας ἡδύσματα
ἐνθεὶς τὸ τέμαχος, λευκὸν οἶνον ἐπιχέας
ἐπισκεδάσας τ᾽ ἔλαιον εἶθ᾽ ἕψων ποῶ
μυελὸν ἀφειδῶς[3] τ᾽ ἐπιγανώσας σιλφίῳ.

e ἐν δὲ Ἀπεγλαυκωμένῳ συμβολάς τις ἀπαιτούμενός φησι·

παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ δ᾽, ἐὰν μὴ καθ᾽ ἓν ἕκαστον πάντα δῷς,[4]
χαλκοῦ μέρος δωδέκατον οὐκ ἂν ἀπολάβοις.
B. δίκαιος ὁ λόγος. ἀβάκιον, ψῆφον. A. λέγε.
B. ἔστ᾽ ὠμοτάριχος πέντε χαλκῶν. A. λέγ᾽ ἕτερον.
f B. μῦς ἑπτὰ χαλκῶν. A. οὐδὲν ἀσεβεῖς οὐδέπω,
λέγε. B. τῶν ἐχίνων ὀβολός. A. ἁγνεύεις ἔτι.

salt-fish' of Crates was famous is proved by Aristophanes in *Thesmophoriazusae*[a]: 'The comedians' art was still a big thing in the old days when Crates at a stroke brought into fashion the glistening ivory salt-fish which he had summoned, and giggled out countless other fancies like that.'

"Alexis mentions 'raw salt-fish,' also, in *The Man with a Cataract*, and the same poet in *The Lovelorn Lass*[b] introduces a cook who has this to say about making salt-fish: 'Nevertheless, I mean to sit down here and reckon the cost of my menu, to plan what I must get first, and how I must season each dish. First comes this piece of *horaion*; that cost a penny. I must wash it well. Then I will sprinkle seasoning in a casserole, place the slice in it, pour over it some white wine, stir it in oil and stew it until it is as soft as marrow, covering it generously with a garnish of silphium.' And in *The Man with a Cataract*[c] one of the characters, when asked to pay his share of the club dinner, replies: 'If, however, you don't render me an account of each item in detail, you shall not get from me the twelfth part of a bronze farthing.—B. What you say is reasonable. Bring a counting-board and counters.—A. Name the items.—B. Raw salt fish, five farthings.—A. Next!—B. Mussels, seven farthings.—A. You haven't cheated yet. Next!—B. Those sea-urchins, a ha'penny.—A. Your conscience is still

[a] Kock i. 480; see 104 e, note.
[b] Kock ii. 366.
[c] Kock ii. 301.

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[1] Elmsley: ἦ ACE.
[2] Elmsley: βρῶμ' ἐστὶ ἡ ACE.
[3] Kock: ἀφεῖλον ACE.
[4] δῷς Kock: δ' ὡς A. But πάντα can hardly be right with καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον, hence Kaibel conj. ἕκαστον ἀποδίδῳς (sc. λόγον).

Β. ἆρ᾽ ἦν μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ἡ ῥάφανος, ἣν ἐβοᾶτε;
  Α. ναί·
χρηστὴ γὰρ ἦν. Β. ἔδωκα ταύτης δύ᾽ ὀβολούς.
Α. τί γὰρ ἐβοῶμεν; Β. τὸ κύβιον τριωβόλου.
118 Α. ὠνήν[1]· κιχορίων δ᾽ οὐκ[2] ἐπράξατ᾽ οὐδὲ ἕν.
Β. οὐκ οἶσθας, ὦ μακάριε, τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅτι
κατεδηδόκασι τὰ λάχαν᾽ αἱ τρωξαλλίδες.
Α. διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τάριχος τέθεικας διπλασίου;
Β. ὁ ταριχοπώλης ἐστίν· ἐλθὼν πυνθάνου.
γόγγρος δέκ᾽ ὀβολῶν. Α. οὐχὶ πολλοῦ. λέγ᾽
  ἕτερον.
Β. τὸν ὀπτὸν ἰχθὺν ἐπριάμην δραχμῆς. Α. παπαῖ,
ὥσπερ πυρετὸς ἀνῆκεν, εἶτ᾽ ἐν ἐπιτέλει.[3]
Β. πρόσθες τὸν οἶνον, ὃν μεθυόντων προσέλαβον
ὑμῶν, χοᾶς τρεῖς, δέκ᾽ ὀβολῶν ὁ χοῦς.

Ἱκέσιος δ᾽ ἐν β´ περὶ ὕλης πηλαμύδας κύβια
b εἶναί φησι μεγάλα. κυβίων δὲ μνημονεύει Ποσείδιππος
ἐν Μεταφερομένῳ. Εὐθύδημος ἐν τῷ περὶ
ταρίχων τὸν δελκανόν φησιν ἰχθὺν ὀνομάζεσθαι
ἀπὸ Δέλκωνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ καὶ ἁλίσκεσθαι,
καὶ ταριχευόμενον εὐστομαχώτατον εἶναι.
Δωρίων δ᾽ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἰχθύων τὸν[4] λεβίαν ὀνομάζων
φησὶ λέγειν τινὰς ὡς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ δελκανῷ,
τὸν δὲ κορακῖνον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λέγεσθαι σαπέρδην
καὶ εἶναι κράτιστον τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης.
c θαυμαστοὺς δὲ εἶναι λέγει καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἄβδηρα
ἁλισκομένους κεστρεῖς, μεθ᾽ οὓς τοὺς περὶ Σινώ-

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[1] ὠνήν Capps: ονεῖν A.
[2] κιχορίων δ᾽ οὐκ Kaibel: κεχειρῶν γε οὐκ A.
[3] Corrupt.
[4] A adds a variant λεπτηνὸν.

clean.—B. After that, wasn't there the cabbage which you all loudly praised?—A. Yes; it was really good.—B. I paid a penny for that.—A. Why, I wonder, were we so loud in praising it?—B. The cube salt-fish cost three ha'pence.—A. A bargain, indeed! And for the endive you haven't charged a single penny![a]—B. You don't know, simpleton, the state of the market, and that the weevils have eaten up all green salads.—A. So that's why you have charged double for the salt-fish?—B. The fishmonger is to blame; go and ask him. Next comes a conger-eel, fivepence.—A. That's not much! Name the next.—B. I bought the baked fish for a shilling.—A. Ow! Like a fever—it leaves one, then rises high again.—B. Add the wine, of which I procured more when you were drunk; three bottles, at fivepence the bottle.'[b]

"Hicesius, in the second book of his *Materials for Food*, says that *pelamydes* are large fish-cubes. Poseidippus also mentions cubes in *The Converted Philosopher*.[c] Euthydemus, in the treatise on *Salt-fish*, says that the *delcanos* is a fish named from the Delcon river, in which it is caught, and that when pickled it is very wholesome. Dorion, in his work on *Fishes*, when mentioning the *lebias* says that some declare it to be the same as the *delcanos*; that the crow-fish[d] is by many called *saperdes* (shabar), and the best is that which comes from the Sea of Maeotis. He says, too, the grey mullets caught off Abdera are wonderful, and next to them are the

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[a] For the custom of using a garnish with fish *cf.* Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 496 ff.

[b] The χοῦς was a pitcher holding nearly six pints, Lat. *congius*.

[c] Kock iii. 430.

[d] *Cf.* 86 e, note f; also 307 b, 312 d.

πην, καὶ ταριχευομένους εὐστομάχους ὑπάρχειν. τοὺς δὲ προσαγορευομένους φησὶ μύλλους ὑπὸ μέν τινων καλεῖσθαι ἀγνωτίδια, ὑπὸ δέ τινων πλατιστάκους ὄντας τοὺς αὐτούς, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν χελλαρίην· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἕνα ὄντα ἰχθὺν πολλῶν ὀνομασιῶν τετυχηκέναι· καλεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ βάκχον καὶ ὀνίσκον καὶ χελλαρίην. οἱ μὲν οὖν μείζονες αὐτῶν ὀνομάζονται πλατίστακοι, οἱ δὲ μέσην ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν μύλλοι, οἱ δὲ βαιοὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν d ἀγνωτίδια. μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν μύλλων καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὁλκάσι·

σκόμβροι, κολίαι, λεβίαι, μύλλοι, σαπέρδαι,
θυννίδες."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις σιωπήσαντος τοῦ Διονυσοκλέους ὁ γραμματικὸς ἔφη Οὔαρος· "ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν Δευκαλίωνι ταρίχων τῶνδε μέμνηται·

τάριχος ἀντακαῖον εἴ τις βούλετ' ἢ
Γαδειρικόν, Βυζαντίας δὲ θυννίδος
ὀσμαῖσι[1] χαίρει.

καὶ ἐν Παρασίτῳ·

τάριχος ἀντακαῖον ἐν μέσῳ
πῖον, ὁλόλευκον, θερμόν.

e Νικόστρατός τε ἢ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Ἀντύλλῳ·

Βυζάντιόν τε τέμαχος ἐπιβακχευσάτω,
Γαδειρικόν θ' ὑπογάστριον παρεισίτω.

καὶ προελθών·

ἀλλ' ἐπριάμην παρ' ἀνδρός, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί,
ταριχοπώλου πάνυ καλοῦ τε κἀγαθοῦ
τιλτὸν μέγιστον, ἄξιον δραχμῆς, δυοῖν

Sinopic, and when pickled they are wholesome. The fish called mullet, he says, are by some named *agnotidia*, by others *platistakoi*, being quite the same, as is also the *chellariês* ; for this one fish has received many appellations ; it is also called *bacchus* and *oniskos* as well as *chellariês*. The larger are called *platistakoi*, those of medium age mullets, whereas the little ones are *agnotidia*. Mullets are mentioned by Aristophanes in *The Merchantmen* [a] : 'Mackerel, Spanish mackerel, *lebiae*, mullets, shabar, roe tunny.' "

Upon this, when Dionysocles [b] had lapsed into silence, the scholar Varus spoke up. " Look you, the poet Antiphanes, also, mentions these pickled fish in *Deucalion* [c] : 'Salt sturgeon, if one likes it, or a Cadiz tunny ; and revels in the odour of a roe tunny from Byzantium.' And in *The Parasite* [d] : 'In the middle a salt sturgeon, luscious, white throughout, and hot.' And so Nicostratus (or Philetaerus) in *Antyllus* [e] : 'Let a Byzantian fish-slice come to our revels, and let a Cadiz belly-slice enter beside it ;' and continuing, he says : 'Nay, but I have bought from a fishmonger, a very gentlemanly fellow, Earth and the Gods are my witness, a very large piece of salt-fish with no skin on it, worth a shilling ; for a penny I bought it, though

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[a] Kock i. 499.

[b] Daphnus is the last speaker mentioned, 116 f.

[c] Kock ii. 43. [d] Kock ii. 87. [e] Kock ii. 220.

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[1] A begins this line with εὐφροσύναις : om. CE : ὄσφραισι (= ὀσμαῖσι) Naber.

ὀβολοῖν, ὃν οὐκ ἂν καταφάγοιμεν ἡμερῶν
τριῶν ἂν ἐσθίοντες[1] οὐδὲ δώδεκα·
ὑπερμέγεθες γάρ ἐστιν.”

f ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν Πλούταρχον ἔφη· “μήποτ᾽ οὔτις ἐν τούτοις, ὦ οὗτος, τοὺς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι κατέλεξε Μενδησίους, ὧν οὐδ᾽ ἂν μαινόμενος κύων γεύσαιτο ἄν ποτε, ἢ τῶν καλῶν σου ἡμινήρων ἢ τῶν ταριχηρῶν
119 σιλούρων.” καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος “ὁ μὲν ἡμίνηρος, ἔφη, τί διαφέρει τοῦ προκαταλελεγμένου ἡμιταρίχου, οὗ ὁ καλὸς ὑμῶν Ἀρχέστρατος μέμνηται; ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ὠνόμασεν ἡμίνηρον ὁ Πάφιος Σώπατρος ἐν Μυστάκου Θητίῳ οὕτως·

ἐδέξατ᾽ ἀντακαῖον, ὃν τρέφει μέγας
Ἴστρος Σκύθαισιν ἡμίνηρον ἡδονήν.

καὶ τὸν Μενδήσιον οὕτως ὁ αὐτὸς καταλέγει·

Μενδήσιός θ᾽ ὡραῖος ἀκρόπαστος εὖ
ξανθαῖσιν ὀπτὸς κέφαλος ἀκτῖσιν πυρός.

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ βρώματα ὅτι πολλῷ ἡδίω ἐστὶ τῶν
a παρὰ σοὶ περισπουδάστων κόττα καὶ λέπιδι,[2] οἱ πειραθέντες ἴσασι. λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ εἰ καὶ ἀρσενικῶς ὁ τάριχος λέγεται παρ᾽ Ἀττικοῖς· παρὰ γὰρ Ἐπιχάρμῳ οἴδαμεν.”

Ὃν ζητοῦντα προφθάσας ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· “Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐν Διονυσαλεξάνδρῳ·

ἐν σαργανίσιν ἄξω ταρίχους Ποντικούς.

Πλάτων Διὶ κακουμένῳ·

ὥσθ᾽ ἅττ᾽ ἔχω ταῦτ᾽ ἐς ταρίχους ἀπολέσω.

Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν·

we could not eat it up if we ate for three days, or even twelve; for it is huge.' " Upon this Ulpian, with a glance at Plutarch, said: "It appears that no one, sir, has mentioned in this list the Mendesian fish of you Alexandrians—fish which even a mad dog would not taste, or the excellent, half-salted varieties you have, or the pickled sheat-fish." Plutarch answered: "How does that 'half-salted' fish differ from the 'half-pickle' which your noble Archestratus mentioned above[a]? Yet Sopater of Paphos names[b] the half-salted in *The Slavey of Mystacus*, thus: 'He received a sturgeon, which the mighty Danube nurtures, the half-salt joy of Scythians.' And the same author mentions the Mendesian thus: 'There is the lovely Mendesian, too, lightly salted with care, and a mullet baked in the yellow beams of fire.' That these viands are much to be preferred to the "poll-fish" and "sweet-fish" so celebrated in your country, experienced persons know. Now tell us whether the word for salt-fish is masculine in Attic Greek; for we know that it is in Epicharmus."[c]

Anticipating his answer Myrtilus said: "Yes, Cratinus has it masculine in *Dionysalexander*[d]: 'In baskets I will bring salt-fish of Pontus.' Plato, in *Zeus Outraged*[e]: 'So that all I have I shall throw away on salt-fish.' Aristophanes, in *The Men of*

[a] 117 a.
[b] Kaibel 194.
[c] *Ibid.* 120.
[d] Kock i. 24.
[e] Kock i. 613.

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[1] ἂν ἐσθίοντες Kaibel: ἤδη κατεσθίοντες A.

[2] In ix. 385 a occur the accusative forms κόττανα καὶ λέπιδιν.

c *οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τὸν τάριχον τουτονὶ*
πλύνων ἅπασιν ὅσα σύνοιδ᾽ αὐτῷ κακά.

Κράτης Θηρίοις·

καὶ τῶν ῥαφάνων ἕψειν χρή,
ἰχθῦς τ᾽ ὀπτᾶν τούς τε ταρίχους,
ἡμῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι.

ἰδίως δ᾽ ἐσχημάτισται παρ᾽ Ἑρμίππῳ ἐν Ἀρτοπώλισι·

καὶ τάριχος πίονα.

Σοφοκλῆς τ᾽ ἐν Φινεῖ·

νεκρὸς τάριχος εἰσορᾶν Αἰγύπτιος.

ὑποκοριστικῶς δ᾽ εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ·

d *ἀγόρασόν τι χρηστὸν εἰς ἀγρὸν ταρίχιον.*

καὶ Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Ὑί·

κρεᾴδιόν τι φαῦλον ἢ ταρίχιον.

Φερεκράτης ἐν Αὐτομόλοις·

ἡ γυνὴ δ᾽ ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ λέκιθον ἕψουσ᾽ ἢ φακῆν
ἀναμένει καὶ σμικρὸν ὀπτῶσ᾽ ὀρφανὸν[1] ταρίχιον.

Καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ᾽ ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκεν ὁ τάριχος. Ἡρόδοτος δ᾽ ἐν θ′ οὕτως· "οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντο καὶ ἤσπαιρον." καὶ αἱ e παροιμίαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν λέγουσι·

τάριχος ὀπτὸς εὐθὺς ἂν ἴδῃ τὸ πῦρ.
σαπρὸς τάριχος τὴν ὀρίγανον φιλεῖ.
οὐκ ἂν πάθοι τάριχος ὧνπερ ἄξιος.

Ἀττικοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐδετέρως λέγουσι, καὶ γίνεται ἡ γενικὴ τοῦ ταρίχους. Χιωνίδης Πτωχοῖς·

ἆρ᾽ ἂν φάγοιτ᾽ ἂν καὶ ταρίχους, ὦ θεοί;

Dinnerville[a]: 'I shall not scruple to drench this poor fish with all the evils I know him to be capable of.' Crates in *Wild Animals*[b]: 'You must boil some of the cabbages, and bake the fresh and salt fish, and keep your hands off us.' But a peculiar construction is found in Hermippus's *Bread-Sellers*,[c] 'A fat piece of salt-fish.' Sophocles has *tarichos* masculine, meaning 'mummy,' in *Phineus*[d]: 'Dead as an Egyptian mummy, to judge from the looks.' A diminutive form *tarichion* is used by Aristophanes in the *Peace*[e]: 'Buy a nice little piece of salt-fish to take to the country.' So also Cephisodorus in *The Pig*[f]: 'A nasty little piece of meat or salt-fish'; and Pherecrates in *The Deserters*[g]: 'Meanwhile our wives are waiting for us, boiling for each some pease-porridge or lentils, and broiling a bit of orphan salt-fish.'

"Epicharmus,[h] also, has the form *tarichos* as a masculine. Herodotus, too, in Book ix.[i]: 'The pieces of salt-fish lying over the fire began to squirm and quiver.' So, too, the proverbs have it in the masculine: 'Broiled salt-fish, if it but see the fire,—'; 'stale salt-fish likes marjoram'[j]; 'a piece of salt-fish will never get its deserts.' But the word is also neuter in Attic Greek, and the genitive becomes *tarichous*. Chionides in *Beggars*[k]: 'Ye gods, would you even eat some salt-fish?' So the dative is

[a] Kock i. 441.
[b] Kock i. 135.

[c] Kock i. 228; a foreigner (mother of the demagogue Hyperbolus) uses the neuter *tarichos* with a masculine adjective *piona*, "fat."

[d] *T.G.F.*² 285.
[e] l. 563.
[f] Kock i. 802.

[g] Kock i. 151. See critical note.

[h] Kaibel 120; *cf.* above, 119 b.

[i] ch. 120.
[j] *Cf.* 116 e, note.
[k] Kock i. 5.

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[1] Suspected. Kock conjectures ἔριφον ἤ, "kid or."

ἡ δὲ δοτικὴ ταρίχει ὡς ξίφει. Μένανδρος Ἐπιτρέπουσιν·

> ἐπὶ τῷ ταρίχει τῷδε τοίνυν κόπτετον.

καὶ ἐπὶ αἰτιατικῆς·

> ἐπέπασα
> f ἐπὶ τὸ τάριχος ἅλας, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ.

ὅτε δὲ ἀρσενικόν ἐστιν, ἡ γενικὴ οὐκέτι ἕξει τὸ σ̄.

Τοσαύτην δ' Ἀθηναῖοι σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τὸ τάριχος ὡς καὶ πολίτας ἀναγράψαι τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου τοῦ ταριχοπώλου υἱούς, ὥς φησιν Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ οὕτως·

> τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου δ' υἱεῖς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι
> 120 εἰσήγαγεν τάριχος, οὓς καὶ Τιμοκλῆς
> ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων δύο σκόμβρους ἔφη
> ἐν τοῖς Σατύροις εἶναι.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑπερείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ. Εὐθύνου δὲ τοῦ ταριχοπώλου μέμνηται Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κουρίδι οὕτως·

> ἐλθών τε πρὸς τὸν τεμαχοπώλην, περίμενε,[1]
> παρ' οὗ φέρειν εἴωθα κἂν οὕτω τύχῃ. . . .
> Εὔθυνος . . . ἀπολογίζων αὐτόθι
> χρηστόν τι, περίμεινον[1] κέλευσον μοι[2] τεμεῖν.

Φειδίππου δὲ—καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ταριχοπώλης—Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἱππίσκῳ κἂν Σωράκοις·

> b Φείδιππος ἕτερός τις ταριχηγὸς ξένος."

Ἐσθιόντων δ' ἡμῶν τὸ τάριχος καὶ πολλῶν

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[1] Some proper name like Παρμένων should be read here (Kock).

[2] Schweighäuser: μὴ ACE.

tarichei, like *xiphei*.[a] Menander in *The Arbitrants*[b]: 'Over this piece of salt-fish, therefore, the two are pecking.' Also in the accusative:[c] 'I sprinkle more salt on the salt-fish, if so it befall.' But when the word is masculine, the genitive will no longer have the *s*.[d]

"Now the Athenians set such store by salt-fish that they actually enrolled the sons of Chaerephilus, the salt-fish-dealer, as citizens, according to the following verses of Alexis, in *Epidaurus*[e]: '(You made) the sons of Chaerephilus citizens of Athens because he introduced salt-fish. Seeing them on horseback, Timocles said they were a pair of mackerel among the satyrs.' The orator Hypereides also mentions them,[f] and the salt-fish-dealer Euthynus is mentioned by Antiphanes in *The Hairdresser* thus[g]: 'Go to the dealer in salt-fish, the one from whom it is my habit to buy when I am in luck. It is Euthynus, . . . telling off the cost of some choice morsel. Bid him cut it in a slice for me.' Pheidippus, too, for he also was a salt-fish-dealer, is mentioned by Alexis in *The Scarf*[h] and in *The Coffers*[h]: 'Another man there is, a foreigner Pheidippus, leader of the salt-fish battalion.'"

As we ate our salt-fish many of us had a desire to

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[a] From *xiphos*, "sword."

[b] Not in the extant fragments. Kock i. 5 joined the line with the preceding from Chionides.

[c] Kock iii. 52, Allinson 126.

[d] Being *tarichou*.

[e] Kock ii. 322. The Greek also means, "Timocles, in his *Satyrs*, said they were a pair of mackerel." The passage is a rebuke directed against Demosthenes, who caused citizenship to be conferred on them, but the aptness of the epithet cannot be seen in the short fragment.

[f] Frag. 185 Blass.

[g] Kock ii. 63. See critical note.

[h] Kock ii. 299, 377.

ὁρμὴν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τὸ πιεῖν ὁ Δάφνος ἔφη ἀνατείνας
τὼ χεῖρε· “ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ταραντῖνος, ἄνδρες
φίλοι, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Συμποσίῳ φησί· ‘ ληπτέον
σύμμετρον τροφὴν πρὸ τοῦ πίνειν καὶ μάλιστα
c τὰς εἰθισμένας προπαρατίθεσθαι περιφοράς· ἐκ
διαστήματος γὰρ εἰσφερομένας ἐναλλάττειν τὰ ἀπὸ
τοῦ οἴνου προσκαθίζοντα τῷ στομάχῳ καὶ δηγμῶν
αἴτια καθιστάμενα. οἴονται δέ τινες ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι
καὶ κακοστόμαχα—λέγω δὴ λαχάνων καὶ ταρίχων
γένη—δηκτικόν τι κεκτημένα, εὐθετεῖν δὲ τὰ
κολλώδη καὶ ἐπιστύφοντα βρώματα, ἀγνοοῦντες
ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν τὰς ἐκκρίσεις ποιούντων εὐλύτους
d ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐστόμαχα καθέστηκεν· ἐν οἷς
ἔστι καὶ τὸ σίσαρον καλούμενον (οὗ μνημονεύει
Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀγρωστίνῳ, ἐν Γῇ καὶ Θαλάσσῃ,
καὶ Διοκλῆς ἐν α΄ Ὑγιεινῶν), ἀσπάραγος, τεῦτλον
τὸ λευκόν (τὸ γὰρ μέλαν καθεκτικόν ἐστιν ἐκκρίσεων),
κόγχαι, σωλῆνες, μύες θαλάττιοι, χῆμαι,
κτένες, τάριχος τέλειος καὶ μὴ βρομώδης καὶ
ἰχθύων εὐχύλων γένη. προπαρατίθεσθαι δ᾽ ἐστὶν
ὠφέλιμον τὴν λεγομένην φυλλίδα καὶ τευτλίον,
ἔτι δὲ τάριχος, εἰς τὰς ὁρμὰς εἰς ταῦτα . . .[1]
μὴ ὁμοίως τῶν πολυτρόφων ἀπολαύειν. τὰς δὲ
ἀθρόους ἐν ἀρχῇ πόσεις ἐκκλιτέον· δύσκλητοι γὰρ
εἰς τὴν πλείονα τῶν ὑγρῶν προσφοράν.’—
Μακεδόνες δ᾽, ὥς φησιν Ἔφιππος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος
e ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος
ταφῆς, οὐκ ἠπίσταντο πίνειν εὐτάκτως, ἀλλ᾽
εὐθέως ἐχρῶντο μεγάλαις προπόσεσιν, ὥστε με-

[1] The text is defective, as noted by Casaubon.

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[a] A signal to stop eating.

[b] Kaibel 91.

drink. And Daphnus, raising his hands,[a] said: "Heracleides of Tarentum, my friends, says in his work entitled *Symposium* that a 'moderate quantity of food should be eaten before drinking, and chiefly the dishes which form the ordinary courses at the beginning of a feast. For when foods are served after an interval of drinking, they counteract what settles on the stomach from the effects of wine and becomes the cause of gnawing pangs. Some even think that these are unwholesome—I mean the different kinds of green vegetables and salt-fish—possessing, as they do, a pungent quality, and that the starchy and binding foods are more suitable. They are not aware that many foods which produce loose excretions cause a wholesome reaction on those of opposite nature; among these are the so-called *siser* ("skirret"), mentioned by Epicharmus in *The Rustic*[b] and in *Earth and Sea*,[c] and by Diocles in Book i. of his *Hygiene*[d]; also asparagus, the white beet (for the red hinders bowel action), conchs, razor-fish, sea mussels, clams, scallops, salt-fish in perfect condition and not tainted, and different sorts of juicy-meated fish. It also is well to have an *hors-d'œuvre* of herbs and beets, or again of salt-fish, to provoke an appetite for what is to come, and to obviate the unequal effects of the heavier foods. Crowding all the drinks at the beginning is a practice to be avoided, for they render it hard to absorb any additional moisture.' But the Macedonians, as Ephippus of Olynthus observes in his account[e] of the funeral of Alexander and Hephaestion, never understood how to drink in moderation, but rather drank deep at the beginning of the feast. Hence they were

[c] *Ibid.* 95. [d] Wellmann 168. [e] Frag. 1 Müller.

θύειν ἔτι παρακειμένων τῶν πρώτων τραπεζῶν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν σιτίων ἀπολαύειν.

Δίφιλος δ’ ὁ Σίφνιός φησι ‘τὰ ταρίχη τὰ ἐκ τῶν θαλασσίων καὶ λιμναίων καὶ ποταμίων γινόμενά ἐστιν ὀλιγότροφα, ὀλιγόχυλα, καυσώδη, εὐκοίλια, ἐρεθιστικὰ ὀρέξεως. κράτιστα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀπιόνων κύβια καὶ ὡραῖα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια γένη, τῶν δὲ πιόνων τὰ θύννεια καὶ κορδύλεια. **f** τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ κρείσσονα καὶ δριμύτερα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Βυζάντια. τὸ δὲ θύννειον, φησί, γίνεται ἐκ τῆς μείζονος πηλαμύδος, ὧν τὸ μικρὸν ἀναλογεῖ τῷ κυβίῳ, ἐξ οὗ γένους ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ὡραῖον. ἡ 121 δὲ σάρδα προσέοικε τῷ κολίᾳ μεγέθει. ὁ δὲ σκόμβρος κούφως[1] καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῶν τοῦ στομάχου. ὁ κολίας δὲ σκιλλωδέστερος, δηκτικώτερος καὶ κακοχυλότερος, τρόφιμος· κρείσσων δὲ ὁ Ἀμυνκλανὸς καὶ Σπανὸς ὁ Σαξιτανὸς λεγόμενος· λεπτότερος γὰρ καὶ γλυκύτερος.’ Στράβων δ’ ἐν γ´ Γεωγραφικῶν πρὸς ταῖς Ἡρακλέους φησὶ νήσοις κατὰ Καρχηδόνα τὴν καινὴν πόλιν εἶναι Σεξιτανίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὰ ταρίχη ἐπωνύμως λέγεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλην Σκομβροαρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων σκόμβρων, b ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἄριστον σκευάζεσθαι γάρον. οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι μελανδρύαι, ὧν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος μνημονεύει ἐν Αὐτομόλῳ Ὀδυσσεῖ οὕτως·

ποτιφόριμον τὸ τέμαχος ἧς ὑπομελανδρυῶδες.

μέλανδρυς δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θύννων εἶδός ἐστιν, ὡς Πάμφιλος ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὀνομάτων παρίστησι, καί ἐστι τὰ τεμάχη αὐτοῦ λιπαρώτερα.

Τὸ δὲ ὠμοτάριχον, φησὶν ὁ Δίφιλος, κήτημα[2] τινὲς λέγουσι, καί ἐστι βαρὺ καὶ γλοιῶδες, προσέτ

drunk while the first courses were still being served and could not enjoy their food.

"Diphilus of Siphnos says that salt-fish, whether from sea or lake or river, has little nourishment or juice; it is dry, easily digested, and provocative of appetite. The best of the lean varieties are cubes, *horaia*, and the like; of the fat, the tunny steaks and young tunny. When aged they are superior, being more pungent, particularly the Byzantian sorts. The tunny steak, he says, is taken from medium-sized young tunny, the smaller size resembling the cube tunny, from which class also comes the *horaion*. The Sardinian tunny is as large as the tuna. The mackerel is not heavy, but readily leaves the stomach. Spanish mackerel is rather purgative and pungent and has poorer flavour, but is filling. Better are the Amynclanian and the Spanish sort called Saxitanian, which are lighter and sweeter. Now Strabo, in the third book of his *Geography*,[a] says that Sexitania, from which this salt-fish gets its name, is near the Isles of Heracles, opposite New Carthage; and that there is another town called Scombroaria[b] from the mackerel caught there; from them the best fish-pickle is prepared. Then there are the so-called heart-of-oak tunny, which Epicharmus mentions thus in *Odysseus the Runaway*[c]: 'Useful was the slice of heart-of-oak tunny.' Heart-of-oak is a variety of the largest-sized tunny, as Pamphilus declares in the *Onomasticon*, and the cuts taken from it are more oily.

"Raw pickle, Diphilus continues, is by some called *ketema*,[d] and is heavy and sticky, besides being hard to

[a] p. 156; he has ἡ τῶν Ἐξιτανῶν πόλις.

[b] "Mackerellia."

[c] Kaibel 109; *cf.* vii. 315 d.

[d] Apparently from κῆτος, any large fish like the tunny.

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[1] κοῦφος CE.

[2] Musurus: κητεμε ACE.

δὲ καὶ δύσπεπτον. ὁ δὲ ποτάμιος κορακῖνος, ὃν πέλτην τινὲς καλοῦσιν, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου, ὃν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἰδίως ἡμίνηρον ὀνομάζουσιν, **c** ὑποπίμελος μέν ἐστι καὶ ἥκιστα κακόχυλος, σαρκώδης, τρόφιμος, εὔπεπτος, εὐανάδοτος, κατὰ πάντα τοῦ μύλλου κρείσσων. τὰ μέντοι τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν ταρίχων ᾠὰ πάντα δύσπεπτα, δύσφθαρτα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ τῶν λιπαρωτέρων καὶ μειζόνων· σκληρότερα γὰρ μένει καὶ ἀδιαίρετα. γίνεται δὲ εὐστόμαχα μετὰ ἁλῶν σβεσθέντα καὶ ἐποπτηθέντα. πάντας δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ταρίχους πλύνειν ἄχρι ἂν τὸ ὕδωρ ἄνοσμον καὶ γλυκὺ γένηται. **d** ὁ δ' ἐκ θαλάσσης ἑψόμενος τάριχος γλυκύτερος γίνεται, θερμοί τε οἱ τάριχοι ἡδίονές εἰσιν.

Μνησίθεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐδεστῶν 'οἱ ἁλυκοί,' φησίν, 'καὶ γλυκεῖς χυμοὶ πάντες ὑπάγουσι τὰς κοιλίας, οἱ δ' ὀξεῖς καὶ δριμεῖς λύουσι τὴν οὔρησιν, οἱ δὲ πικροὶ μᾶλλον μέν εἰσιν οὐρητικοί, λύουσι δ' αὐτῶν ἔνιοι καὶ τὰς κοιλίας· οἱ δὲ στρυφνοὶ τὰς ἐκκρίσεις . . . .'[1] Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὁ μουσικώτατος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἱέρωνι ἢ τυραννικῷ διαβάλλων τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματά φησι· **e** 'τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα κατανενοήκατε ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά; πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπῳ. ἄλλο τι οἴει, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ταῦτα ἐδέσματα εἶναι ἢ μὴ διὰ κακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα[2]; ἐπεὶ οἵ γε ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες καὶ σύ

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[1] Casaubon supplies ἴσχουσι.

digest. The river crow-fish from the Nile, which some call 'crescent,' but which among the Alexandrians is known by the special name of 'half-salt,' is rather fatty, quite well-flavoured, meaty, filling, easily digested and assimilated, and in every way superior to the mullet. But the spawn of fresh and salt fish alike is hard to digest and dispose of, especially that of the fatter and larger fishes. For being harder, they remain unseparated. They become wholesome, however, when first dipped in salt and then broiled. All salt-fish should be washed until the water becomes odourless and sweet. Salt-fish cooked in sea water is sweeter, and tastes better when hot.

"Mnesitheus of Athens, in his treatise on *Food*, says that all salt and sweet juices move the bowels, but acid and pungent juices stimulate urination; bitter juices are more diuretic, and some of them loosen the bowels; astringent juices, on the other hand (check) the excretions. But the well-informed Xenophon, in the work entitled *Hieron*,[a] or *The Tyrant*, says in condemnation of such food as we have been describing: '"How now?" said Hieron; "have you noticed these many contraptions which are set before tyrants—acid, pungent, astringent, and their brothers?" "Indeed I have," replied Simonides, "and in my humble opinion they are very much opposed to man's nature." "Do you not think," said Hieron, "that such viands are due to the appetites of a soul debased and sick? For they who really

[a] 1. 22.

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[2] Xenophon's text is: *εἶναι ἢ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης τρυφῇ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα*, "the appetites of a soul relaxed and weakened by luxury."

που οἶσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων.᾿ ”

Ἐπὶ τούτοις λεχθεῖσιν ὁ Κύνουλκος πιεῖν ᾔτησε δηκόκταν,[a] δεῖν λέγων ἁλμυροὺς λόγους γλυκέσιν f ἀποκλύζεσθαι νάμασι. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς σχετλιάσας καὶ τύψας τῇ χειρὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἔφη· “μέχρι πότε βαρβαρίζοντες οὐ παύσεσθε; ἢ ἕως ἂν καταλιπὼν τὸ συμπόσιον οἴχωμαι, πέττειν ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους οὐ δυνάμενος;” καὶ ὅς· “ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διατρίβων τὰ νῦν, ὦ λῷστε, ἐπιχωρίῳ κέχρημαι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν φωνῇ. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς σφόδρα ἑλληνίζουσιν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ Περσικὰ ὀνόματα κείμενα διὰ τὴν τῆς χρήσεως συνήθειαν, 122 ὡς τοὺς παρασάγγας καὶ τοὺς ἀστάνδας καὶ τοὺς ἀγγάρους[1] καὶ τὴν σχοῖνον ἢ τὸν σχοῖνον· μέτρον δ᾿ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ὁδοῦ μέχρι νῦν οὕτως παρὰ πολλοῖς καλούμενον. μακεδονίζοντάς τ᾿ οἶδα πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀττικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν. βέλτιον δ᾿ ἦν μοι

αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν,
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἱρετώτερος,

ἢ εἰς σὲ ἐμπεσεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι Ταύρειον ὕδωρ πιεῖν, ὅπερ σὺ οὐκ οἶσθα τί ἐστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ποιητῶν b καὶ συγγραφέων εἴρηταί τινα καὶ φαῦλα. Κηφισόδωρος γοῦν ὁ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθητὴς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην λέγει ὅτι εὕροι τις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ἢ καὶ σοφιστῶν ἓν ἢ δύο γοῦν πονηρῶς εἰρημένα, οἷα παρὰ

[1] Schweighäuser: παρασάγγας καὶ τοὺς ἀστάρους ACE.

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[a] Latin word (hence Ulpian's rebuke), meaning wine

like to eat, as you doubtless know, require none of these fancy contrivances." ' "

Thereupon Cynulcus asked for a drink of *decocta*,[a] saying that he needed to wash away salty words with fountains of sweetness. To him Ulpian replied in high dudgeon, pounding the cushion with his fist: "How long are you going to utter barbarisms without ceasing? Must it be until I leave the symposium and go home, unable to stomach your words?" And the other answered: "Living at present as I do, good sir, in imperial Rome, I naturally use the language of the country. And my justification is this. Even in the ancient poets and historians, those who wrote the purest Greek, one may find Persian words adopted because of their common use in the spoken language, such as 'parasangs,' 'astands' and 'angari,'[b] and 'schoenus,' masculine or feminine; this last is a measure of distance still so called among many people. I know, too, of many Attic writers who use idioms of the Macedonians as a result of intercourse with them. Yes, better it were for me 'to drink bull's blood, since Themistocles' way of dying is preferable,'[c] than to get into a fight with you. I would not, indeed, call for a drink of Bull water, for you do not know what that is; nor do you understand that even the best poets and historians have used expressions not in the best taste. Cephisodorus, for example, pupil of the orator Isocrates, in the third book of his *Answer to Aristotle*, says that one may find at least one or two vulgar phrases in all other poets and rhetoricians, as, for example, the

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boiled to a syrup. For the poetic diction *cf.* Plutarch, *Qu. Conv.* 706 d, Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 D.

[b] "Messengers" and "mounted carriers."

[c] Aristoph. *Eq.* 83.

μὲν Ἀρχιλόχῳ τὸ πάντ' ἄνδρ' ἀποσκολύπτειν, Θεοδώρῳ δὲ τὸ κελεύειν μὲν πλέον ἔχειν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τὸ ἴσον, Εὐριπίδῃ τε τὸ τὴν γλῶτταν ὀμωμοκέναι φάναι καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ ἐν Αἰθίοψιν εἰρημένον·

> τοιαῦτά τοί σοι πρὸς χάριν τε κοὐ βίᾳ
> λέγω, σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοὶ τὰ μὲν
> δίκαι' ἐπαίνει, τοῦ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἔχου.

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι ῥῆμα σὺν κέρδει κακόν· Ὁμήρῳ δὲ τὸ τὴν Ἥραν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τὸν Ἄρη μοιχεύειν· ἐφ' οἷς πάντες κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτῶν. εἰ οὖν κἀγώ τι ἥμαρτον, ὦ καλλίστων ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων θηρευτά, μὴ χαλέπαινε. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Μιλήσιον Τιμόθεον τὸν ποιητὴν

> d οὐκ ἀείδω τὰ παλαιά· καινὰ γὰρ μάλα[1] κρείσσω.
> νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει· τὸ πάλαι δ' ἦν
> Κρόνος ἄρχων. ἀπίτω μοῦσα παλαιά.

Ἀντιφάνης τ' ἐν Ἀλκήστιδι ἔφη·

> ἐπὶ τὸ καινουργεῖν φέρου,
> οὕτως, ἐκείνως, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι
> ἓν καινὸν ἐγχείρημα, κἂν τολμηρὸν ᾖ,
> πολλῶν παλαιῶν ἐστι χρησιμώτερον.

e ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι οἴδασι τὸ οὕτω λεγόμενον ὕδωρ, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν ἀγανακτήσῃς δηκόκταν μου λέγοντος, δείξω. κατὰ γὰρ Φερεκράτους Ψευδηρακλέα

> εἴποι τις ἂν τῶν πάνυ δοκησιδεξίων . . .[2]
> ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἀντείποιμι· μὴ πολυπραγμόνει,
> ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν κἀκροῶ."

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[1] μάλα Bergk : καὶ ταγὰρ ἅμα A : καινὰ γὰρ CE.

[2] Kock notes a lacuna.

'skin every man'[a] of Archilochus; the 'urging one's own profit while praising equality' of Theodorus; or 'my tongue hath sworn'[b] of Euripides, and again the saying of Sophocles in *The Aethiopians*[c]: 'These words of mine, then, I utter for your gratification, and not perforce; but do you yourself, like men of wisdom, praise the right while holding fast to profit.' And in another place[d] also the same poet says that 'no word that brings profit is evil.' Again, there is Homer making Hera plot against Zeus,[e] and Ares committing adultery,[f] causing universal condemnation of them. If, then, I, too, have erred, O mighty hunter of noble words and phrases, be not angry. For as the Milesian poet Timotheus says[g]: 'I sing no ancient story, for new themes are much better. New is the king now reigning, Zeus, but of old Cronus was ruler. Depart, thou Muse of the antiquated!' So, again, Antiphanes said in *Alcestis*[h]: 'Speed to the fashioning of the new, this way, that way, knowing full well that one novel enterprise, even though it be overbold, is more useful than many ancient devices.' But that even the ancients know the water called by that name (not to rouse your ire again by mentioning *decocta*) I will make clear. As Pherecrates says in *The Sham Heracles*[i]: 'A wise man, very clever in his own conceit, might say . . . but I will answer, Be not a petty quibbler, but rather, if you please, pay attention and listen to

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[a] *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 124, *sensu obsceno*.

[b] *Sc.* "but my heart remains unsworn," *Hippolytus* 612. The subject under discussion shifts from good taste to good morals. Aristophanes never forgave Euripides for the alleged immorality of the line, but he made good use of it himself, *Ran.* 1471 ff.

[c] *T.G.F.*² 136.

[d] Soph. *Electra* 61.

[e] *Il.* xiv. 159 ff.

[f] *Od.* viii. 266 ff.

[g] *P.L.G.*⁵ frag. 12.

[h] Kock ii. 22.

[i] Kock i. 194.

“ἀλλὰ μὴ φθονήσῃς,” ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός, “δέομαι,
μηδὲ τοῦ Ταυρείου ὕδατος ὁποῖόν ἐστι δηλῶσαι·
τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων φωνῶν ἐγὼ διψῶ.” καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος
f “ἀλλὰ προπίνω σοι,” ἔφη, “φιλοτησίαν
(διψᾷς γὰρ λόγων) παρ' Ἀλέξιδος λαβὼν ἐκ
Πυθαγοριζούσης·

ὕδατος ἀπέφθου κύαθον· ἂν δ' ὠμὸν πίῃ,
βαρὺ καὶ κοπῶδες.

τὸ δὲ Ταύρειον ὕδωρ ὠνόμασεν, ὦ φίλε, Σοφοκλῆς
Αἰγεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Τροιζῆνα ποταμοῦ Ταύρου,
123 παρ' ᾧ καὶ κρήνη τις Ὑόεσσα καλεῖται. ἐπίστανται δ' οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ τὸ πάνυ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐν ταῖς προπόσεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρῶ, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ σύ με διδάξῃς εἰ ἔπινον θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. εἰ γὰρ οἱ κρατῆρες ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος τῆς ὀνομασίας ἔτυχον οὗτοί τε κερασθέντες[1] παρέκειντο πλήρεις, οὐ ζέον τὸ ποτὸν παρεῖχον, λεβήτων τρόπον ὑποκαιόμενοι. ὅτι γὰρ οἴδασι θερμὸν ὕδωρ Εὔπολις μὲν ἐν Δήμοις παρίστησι·

τὸ χαλκίον
θέρμαινέ θ' ἡμῖν καὶ θύῃ πέττειν τινὰ
κέλευ', ἵνα σπλάγχνοισι συγγενώμεθα.

b Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ·

ἐν χύτρᾳ δέ μοι
ὅπως ὕδωρ ἕψοντα μηδέν' ὄψομαι.
οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω μηδ' ἔχοιμ'. ἐὰν δ' ἄρα
στρέφῃ με περὶ τὴν γαστέρ' ἢ τὸν ὀμφαλόν,
παρὰ Φερτάτου δακτύλιός ἐστί μοι δραχμῆς.

ἐν δ' Ἀλειπτρίᾳ—φέρεται τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξιδος—·

me.' " "Nay," replied Ulpian; "I beg you not to grudge us an explanation of what Bull water is. For I am athirst for all such expressions." Cynulcus replied: "Well, then, I drink to your health (since you thirst for words), taking a line from *The Lady Devotee of Pythagoras*,[a] by Alexis: 'A small cup of boiled water; if he drink it raw, it sits heavily and causes pain.' Now Bull water, good friend, is so named by Sophocles in *Aegeus* [b] from the Bull River at Troezen, by the site of which there is also a spring called Hyoessa. The ancients are also acquainted with the use of very cold water in drinking healths, but I will not quote them unless you tell me in your turn whether they drank hot water at banquets. For if mixing-bowls got their name from the circumstance that water and wine were mixed in them and were thus brought on, filled to the brim, they did not light a fire under the bowls, as if they were kettles, and serve the drink hot. That they know of warm water is made clear by Eupolis in *The Demes* [c]: 'Heat the bronze cauldron for us and have some sacrificial cakes cooked, that we may feed together on the entrails.' And Antiphanes in *Omphalê* [d]: 'Let me not see anyone boiling water in a kettle for me. There's nothing the matter with me. Heaven forbid! But if I get a twist in my belly or navel, I've got a charm which I bought of Phertatus for a shilling.' And in *The Anointer* [e] (the play is also attributed to Alexis) he says: 'But if you bring

[a] Kock ii. 370. [b] *T.G.F.*² 135.
[c] Kock i. 286. [d] Kock ii. 84. [e] Kock ii. 19.

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[1] All this has been corrupted in the process of epitomizing. *Cf.* Pollux ix. 67-70.

ἐὰν δὲ τοὐργαστήριον ποιῆτε περιβόητον,
κατασκεδῶ, νὴ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, τὴν μεγίστην
ἀρύταιναν ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου βάψασα τοῦ λέβητος
ζέοντος ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ μή,[1] μηδέποθ᾽ ὕδωρ πίοιμι
ἐλευθέριον.

Πλάτων δ᾽ ἐν δ′ Πολιτείας· ʻπλέονος ἄν τινος[2] ἐπιθυμία ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ εἴη; οἷον δίψα ἐστὶ δίψα ἆρά γε θερμοῦ ποτοῦ ἢ ψυχροῦ ἢ πολλοῦ ἢ[2] ὀλίγου ἢ καὶ ἑνὶ λόγῳ[3] ποιοῦ τινος πώματος; ἢ ἐὰν μέν τις θερμότης τῷ δίψει προσῇ, τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ ἐπιθυμίαν προσπαρέχοιτ᾽ ἄν, ἐὰν δὲ ψυχρότης, τὴν τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐὰν δὲ διὰ πλήθους παρουσίαν πολλὴ d ἡ δίψα ᾖ, τὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ παρέξεται, ἐὰν δὲ ὀλίγη, τὴν τοῦ ὀλίγου; αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διψῆν οὐ μή ποτε ἄλλου γένηται ἐπιθυμία ἢ οὗπερ πέφυκεν, αὐτοῦ πώματος, καὶ αὖ τὸ πεινῆν βρώματος;ʼ

Σῆμος δὲ ὁ Δήλιος ἐν β′ Νησιάδος ἐν Κιμώλῳ τῇ νήσῳ φησὶ ψυχεῖα κατεσκευάσθαι θέρους ὀρυκτά, ἔνθα χλιεροῦ ὕδατος πλήρη κεράμια καταθέντες κομίζονται χιόνος οὐδὲν διάφορα. τὸ δὲ e χλιαρὸν ὕδωρ Ἀθηναῖοι μετάκερας καλοῦσιν, ὡς Σώφιλος ἐν Ἀνδροκλεῖ. Ἄλεξις δ᾽ ἐν Λοκροῖς·

αἱ δὲ παῖδες παρέχεον
ἡ μὲν τὸ θερμόν, ἡ δ᾽ ἑτέρα τὸ μετάκερας.

καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Κορινθίᾳ. Ἄμφις δ᾽ ἐν Βαλανείῳ·

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[1] Pierson adds μή.

[2] πλέονος ἄν τινος and ἢ πολλοῦ ἢ added from Plato.

[3] ἑνὶ λόγῳ Cornarius: ἐν ὀλίγωι Plato and ACE. Athen. (or his scribe) transposes τοῦ θερμοῦ and τοῦ ψυχροῦ. The text of Plato should be read thus: "If there be any heat added to the thirst, will not that add the desire for a *cold* drink? Or if cold be added, the desire for a *hot* drink?"

scandal upon our workshop, then, by the dear Demeter, I will turn you out, dipping your biggest ladle deep into the cauldron of boiling water. If I fail, may I never drink the water of freedom.' So Plato in *The Republic*[a]: 'Can there be desire for something additional in the soul? For instance, thirst is thirst—is it for hot water or for cold, for much or for little, in a word, for a drink qualified in any way? Or if there be any heat added to the thirst, will not that add the desire for a hot drink? Or if cold be added, the desire of a cold drink? But if, again, the thirst is great because the element of quantity is present, will that not of itself add the desire for a great quantity, or if little, the desire for a little? Surely thirst, in and for itself alone, cannot be the desire for anything other than what it thirsts for, that is, a drink unqualified, and hunger, again, cannot be the desire for anything else than mere food, can it?'

"Semos of Delos, in the second book of the *Island History*,[b] says that in the island of Cimolos underground refrigerators are constructed in summer, where the people store jars full of warm water and draw them out again as cold as snow. This warm water the Athenians call *metakeras* ('lukewarm').[c] Thus Sophilus in *Androcles*,[d] and Alexis in *The Locrians*[e]: 'The two slave-girls poured in water, the one hot, the other lukewarm.' So Philemon in *The Woman of Corinth*,[f] Amphis, too, in *The Bath*[g]:

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[a] 437 D.

[b] More correctly Δηλιάδος, *History of Delos*, *cf.* 109 e. *F.H.G.* iv. 493.

[c] *Cf.* 41 d.

[d] Kock ii. 444.

[e] Kock ii. 347.

[f] Kock ii. 488.

[g] Kock ii. 237.

ἀνεβόησ᾽ ὕδωρ ἐνεγκεῖν θερμόν, ἄλλος μετάκερας.”

Μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ κυνικοῦ τούτοις ἐπισωρεύειν τινὰ ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη· “οἴδασιν, ὦ φίλτατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάνυ ψυχροῦ πόσιν. Ἄλεξις γοῦν ἐν Παρασίτῳ φησί·

καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι
ὕδατός σε γεῦσαι· πρᾶγμα δ᾽ ἔστι μοι μέγα
f φρέατος ἔνδον ψυχρότερον Ἀραρότος.

ὀνομάζει δὲ καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν Κέρκωψι φρεατιαῖον ὕδωρ οὕτως . . . ὅτι δὲ καὶ χιόνα[1] ἔπινον ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένῃ ἔφη Ἄλεξις·

εἶτ᾽ οὐ περίεργόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος φυτὸν
ὑπεναντιωτάτοις τε πλείστοις χρώμενον;
ἐρῶμεν ἀλλοτρίων, παρορῶμεν συγγενεῖς,
124 ἔχοντες οὐδὲν εὐποροῦμεν τοῖς πέλας,
ἐράνους φέροντες οὐ φέρομεν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ κακῶς.
τακτῆς τροφῆς δὲ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν πάλιν
γλιχόμεθα τὴν μὲν μᾶζαν ἵνα λευκὴ παρῇ,
ζωμὸν δὲ ταύτῃ μέλανα μηχανώμεθα,
τὸ καλόν τε χρῶμα δευσοποιῷ χρῴζομεν.
καὶ χιόνα μὲν πίνειν παρασκευάζομεν,
τὸ δ᾽ ὄψον ἂν μὴ θερμὸν ᾖ διασύρομεν.
καὶ τὸν μὲν ὀξὺν οἶνον ἐκπυτίζομεν,
ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀβυρτάκαισι δ᾽ ἐκβακχεύομεν.
b οὐκοῦν τὸ πολλοῖς τῶν σοφῶν εἰρημένον,
τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν κράτιστόν ἐστ᾽ ἀεί,
ἐπὰν γένηται δ᾽, ὡς τάχιστ᾽ ἔχειν τέλος.

Δεξικράτης δ᾽ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν πλανώμενοί φησιν·

'One bawled aloud for somebody to bring him hot water, while another called for lukewarm.' "

While the Cynic was on the point of piling other instances upon these, Pontianus said: "The ancients, dear friends, knew also of the use of very cold water in drinking. Alexis, at any rate, says in *The Parasite*[a]: 'Indeed, I want you to taste that water; for I have a wonderful well in the house, more frigid than Araros.'[b] Hermippus also mentions well-water thus in the *Cercopes*.[c] . . . And that they also drank snow is shown by what Alexis says in *The Woman who drank Belladonna*[d]: 'And so, is not man a fussy creature, always indulging in things which are quite contrary to each other? We love strangers while neglecting our own kin; we may be poor, yet rich in our neighbours' wealth. When we bring our contributions to a club dinner we do it in niggardly spirit. Again, when we come to our regular daily food we require that our barley-cake be white, yet take pains that the broth which goes with it be black, and stain the fine colour of the cake[e] with the dye. We manage, too, to get snow to drink, but scold if the entrée be not hot. Sour wine, again, we spit out, but go into ecstasies over a vinegar salad. The saying, then, of many wise men holds good: Best it is not to be born at all, but if one be born, let him die with all speed.'

"So Dexicrates, in the play entitled *Self-deceivers*,

[a] Kock ii. 364.

[b] Comic poet, son of Aristophanes, and rival of Alexis.

[c] Kock i. 234. The quotation is lost.

[d] Kock ii. 348.

[e] *i.e.* by soaking it in the black broth. The last three lines of the quotation seem inappropriate. *Cf.* Soph. *O.C.* 1242 ff.

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[1] Ohlert: χιόνας ACE.

εἰ δὲ μεθύω καὶ χιόνα πίνω καὶ μύρον
ἐπίσταμ' ὅτι κράτιστον Αἴγυπτος ποιεῖ . . .

Εὐθυκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἀσώτοις ἢ Ἐπιστολῇ·

πρῶτος μὲν οἶδεν εἰ χιών ἐστ' ὠνία·
πρῶτον δ' ἐκεῖνον σχαδόνα δεῖ πάντως φαγεῖν.

c οἶδεν δὲ καὶ ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι τὴν διὰ χιόνος πόσιν. Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστορίαις καὶ ὅπως δεῖ χιόνα διαφυλάσσεσθαι εἴρηκε διηγούμενος περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλεως Πέτρας, ὀρύξαι φάσκων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὀρύγματα[1] τριάκοντα ψυχεῖα, ἃ πληρώσαντα χιόνος παρεμβαλεῖν δρυὸς κλάδους. οὕτω γὰρ παραμενεῖν πλείω χρόνον τὴν χιόνα.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἔψυχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψυχρότερον αὐτὸν πίνειν Στράττις φησὶν ἐν Ψυχασταῖς·

d οἶνον γὰρ πιεῖν
οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δέξαιτο θερμόν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοὐναντίον
ψυχόμενον ἐν τῷ φρέατι καὶ χιόνι μεμιγμένον.

καὶ ὁ Λύσιππος ἐν Βάκχαις·

Ἕρμων, τί ἔστι; πῶς ἔχομεν; Β. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ
ὁ πατὴρ ἄνωθεν ἐς τὸ φρέαρ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ θέρους καθεῖκέ με.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Μνηματίῳ φησίν·

ψῦξον τὸν οἶνον, Δῶρι.

Πρωταγορίδης δ' ἐν β' τῶν κωμικῶν ἱστοριῶν
e τὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν
διηγούμενος πλοῦν λέγει τι καὶ περὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεως
ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων ἐν τούτοις· ʻτὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν

says[a]: 'Yet if I get drunk and drink snow, and know that Egypt produces the best perfume, (what difference does it make?') And Euthycles, in *Wastrels*, or *The Letter*[b]: "He is the first to discover whether snow may be had in the market, and he must be the first, at all costs, to eat the new honeycomb.' Even the excellent Xenophon, in the *Memorabilia*,[c] knows of the use of snow in drinking, and Chares of Mitylene, in his *Records of Alexander*,[d] tells how to keep snow, when he recounts the siege of the Indian capital Petra. He says that Alexander dug thirty refrigerating pits which he filled with snow and covered with oak boughs. In this way, he says, snow will last a long time.

"That they also chilled wine in order to drink it rather cold is shown by Strattis in *Keeping Cool*[e]: 'No man would prefer to drink wine hot; rather one likes it chilled in the well or mixed with snow.' So also Lysippus in *The Bacchants*[f]: 'A. What's the matter, Hermon? How are we getting on?—B. How else than this? The pater has sunk me down the well, methinks, as one sinks wine in summer time.' And Diphilus, in *The Souvenir*, says[g]: 'Chill the wine, Doris!' Protagorides, in the second book of his *Comic Histories*,[h] when recounting the voyage of King Antiochus down the Nile, has something to say about ingenious contrivances to get cold water. His words are these: 'During the day they place the

[a] Kock iii. 374. [b] Kock i. 805. [c] ii. 1. 30.

[d] Frag. 11 Müller. [e] Kock i. 728.

[f] Kock i. 700. Two brothers have been punished by their father by being put into a dark closet or cistern.

[g] Kock ii. 559. [h] *F.H.G.* iv. 485.

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[1] Kaibel brackets ὀρύγματα, and reads ψυχεῖα for συχνά ACE.

ἀνηλιάζοντες αὐτό, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπηθοῦντες τὸ παχύτατον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξαιθριάζουσιν ἐν ὑδρίαις κεραμέαις ἐπὶ τῶν μετεωροτάτων μερῶν τῆς οἰκήσεως, δι' ὅλης τε τῆς νυκτὸς δύο παῖδες ὕδατι τὰ τεύχη καταρραίνουσιν. ὄρθρου δὲ καθαιροῦντες καὶ τὴν ὑποστάθμην πάλιν ὑποσπῶντες λεπτόν τε ποιοῦντες αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν οἷον ἄριστον f ἐν ἀχύροις τιθέασιν τὰς ὑδρίας, εἶθ' οὕτως χρῶνται χιόνος οὐδ' ἥντινοῦν χρείαν ἔχοντες.'

Λακκαίου δὲ ὕδατος μνημονεύει Ἀναξίλας ἐν Αὐλητῇ οὕτως·

ὕδατός τε λακκαίου παρ' ἐμοῦ τουτί γέ σοι
νόμιζ' ὑπάρχειν.

125 καὶ πάλιν·

ἴσως τὸ λακκαῖόν γ' ὕδωρ ἀπόλωλ' ἐμόν.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Γελῷος καὶ τοῦ λάκκου αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, μνημονεύει ἐν Ἀπολιπούσῃ οὕτως·

ἀγωνιῶσα τόν τε τοῦ λάκκου κάδον
λύσασα καὶ τὸν τοῦ φρέατος εὐτρεπεῖς
τὰς ἱμονιὰς πεποίηκας."

Τούτων ὁ Μυρτίλος ἀκούσας ἔφη· "ἐγὼ δ' ὢν φιλοτάριχος, ὦ ἑταῖροι, χιόνος πιεῖν βούλομαι κατὰ Σιμωνίδην." καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς "κεῖται μὲν ὁ φιλοτάριχος," ἔφη, "παρ' Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ οὕτως·

b οὐ φιλοτάριχος οὐδαμῶς εἰμ', ὦ κόρη.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Γυναικοκρατίᾳ καὶ ζωμοτάριχόν τινα κέκληκεν ἐν τούτοις·

water in the sun, and when night comes they strain the thick sediment and again expose the water to the air in earthen jars set on the highest part of the house, while throughout the entire night two slaves wet down jars with water. At dawn they take the jars downstairs, and again drawing off the sediment, they thus make the water clear and in every way healthful. They then place the jars in heaps of chaff, and thereafter use it without the need of snow or anything else whatever.'

"Cistern water is mentioned by Anaxilas in *The Flute-player*[a] thus: 'This also, from the cistern water in my house, consider at your disposal.' And again[a]: 'Maybe the water in my cistern has given out.' Apollodorus of Gela mentions also the cistern itself, using our word for it, in *The Woman who left her Husband*[b]: 'In your wild tantrums you have untied the bucket in the cistern and used the well-rope for your purpose.'"

When Myrtilus heard this he said: "Being a salt-fish devotee, comrades, I would like to drink snow in imitation of Simonides." To this Ulpian said: "The expression 'salt-fish devotee,' to be sure, is found in the *Omphalê*[c] of Antiphanes: 'I am by no means a salt-fish devotee, my girl;' and Alexis in *Government by Women* also calls a character 'salt-fish stew' in

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[a] Kock ii. 264.

[b] Kock iii. 278. The speaker, Pontianus, identifies λάκκος with Lat. *lacus*.

[c] Kock ii. 84.

ὁ δὲ Κίλιξ
ὅδ' Ἱπποκλῆς, ὁ ζωμοτάριχος ὑποκριτής.

τὸ δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην τί ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδα." "οὐ γὰρ μέλει σοι," ἔφη ὁ Μυρτίλος, "ἱστορίας, ὦ γάστρων. κνισολοιχὸς γάρ τις εἶ καὶ[1] κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον
c κνισοκόλαξ. Καλλίστρατος ἐν ζ' Συμμίκτων φησὶν ὡς ἑστιώμενος παρά τισι Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς 'κραταιοῦ καύματος ὥρᾳ' καὶ τῶν οἰνοχόων τοῖς ἄλλοις μισγόντων εἰς τὸ ποτὸν χιόνος, αὐτῷ δὲ οὔ, ἀπεσχεδίασε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

τήν ῥά ποτ' Οὐλύμποιο περὶ πλευρὰς ἐκάλυψεν
ὠκὺς ἀπὸ Θρῄκης ὀρνύμενος Βορέης·
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀχλαίνων ἔδακεν φρένας, αὐτὰρ ἐκάμφθη
d ζώνη[2] Πιερίην γῆν ἐπιεσσαμένη·
ἔν τις ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆς χεέτω μέρος. οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε
θερμὴν βαστάζειν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ πρόποσιν."

πιόντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐζήτει ὁ Οὐλπιανός· "ποῦ κεῖται ὁ κνισολοιχὸς καὶ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου ἔπη τὰ περὶ τοῦ κνισοκόλακος;" "τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀσίου," ἔφη ὁ Μυρτίλος, "ἔπη ταῦτ' ἐστί·

χωλός, στιγματίης, πολυγήραος, ἶσος ἀλήτῃ
ἦλθεν κνισοκόλαξ εὖτε Μέλης ἐγάμει,
ἄκλητος, ζωμοῦ κεχρημένος· ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν
e ἥρως εἱστήκει βορβόρου ἐξαναδύς.

ὁ δὲ κνισολοιχός ἐστι παρὰ μὲν Σωφίλῳ ἐν Φιλάρχῳ οὕτως·

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[1] καὶ added by Casaubon and deleted after ἐκεῖνον.
[2] ζώνη Lumb: ζωὴ A.

these lines[a]: 'and this Cilician Hippocles here, this salt-fish stew of an actor.' But what you mean by 'in imitation of Simonides' I do not know." "No, you glutton, for you have no interest in history," replied Myrtilus. "You are a licker of fat, and as the old Samian poet Asius has it, you would 'toady for a bit of fat.' Callistratus, in the seventh book of *Miscellanies*, says that the poet Simonides was once dining with some friends 'at the season of mighty heat,' and when the cup-bearers mixed snow in the wine of the rest of the company, but not in his, he improvised the following epigram[b]: 'The snow with which swift Boreas, rising in Thrace, covers the sides of Olympus, and which gnaws the spirit of men unclad, and encircles and clothes as a girdle the Pierian land[c]—of that snow let someone pour even into my cup a share. For it is not seemly that one should raise to the lips a hot drink to toast a friend.'" So, then, after Myrtilus had drunk, Ulpian again asked: "Where do you find the word 'fat-licker,' and what are the verses of Asius about 'toadying for a bit of fat'?" "Well," said Myrtilus, "the verses of Asius are as follows[d]: 'Lame, branded, wizened with age—like a beggar he came, toadying for a bit of fat, when Meles celebrated his wedding. Uninvited though he was, he was bent on having some broth, and in the midst of them he stood, a ghost rising from the mire.' But the word 'fat-licker' is in the *Philarchus*[e] of Sophilus: 'You're a gourmand

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[a] Kock ii. 312. For the title *cf.* "The Monstrous Regiment of Women."

[b] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 167.

[c] See crit. note. The reading here given is superior to Porson's ἐθάφθη for ἐκάμφθη.

[d] *P.L.G.*^{4} ii. 23.

[e] Kock ii. 446; *cf.* 100 a, where the title given is *Phylarchus*.

ὀψοφάγος εἶ καὶ κνισολοιχός.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Συντρέχουσι κνισολοιχίαν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

ὁ πορνοβοσκὸς γάρ μ'[1] ὑπὸ κνισολοιχίας
χορδήν τιν' αἱματῖτιν αὐτῷ σκευάσαι
ἐκέλευσε ταυτηνί με.

f τοῦ κνισολοιχοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης μνημονεύει ἐν Βομβυλιῷ.

Ὅτι δὲ ἔπινον καὶ γλυκὺν οἶνον μεταξὺ ἐσθίοντες, Ἄλεξίς φησιν ἐν Δρωπίδῃ·

εἰσῆλθεν ἡταίρα φέρουσα τὸν γλυκὺν
ἐν ἀργυρῷ ποτηρίῳ, πετάχνῳ τινὶ
ἀστειοτάτῳ τὴν ὄψιν, οὔτε τρυβλίῳ
οὔτε φιάλῃ· μετεῖχε δ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ῥυθμοῖν.”

Ἑξῆς ἐπεισηνέχθη πλακοῦς ἐκ γάλακτος ἰτρίων
126 τε καὶ μέλιτος, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι λίβον καλοῦσι. καὶ
ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη· “ἐμπίπλασο, Οὐλπιανέ, χθωροδλάψου
πατρίου, ὃς παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν παλαιῶν μὰ
τὴν Δήμητρα γέγραπται πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα παρὰ
τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγεγραφόσι Σαγχουνιάθωνι
καὶ Μώχῳ, τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις.” καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς
“ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν,” ἔφη, “ὦ κυνάμυια, μελιπήκτων
ἅλις, ἡδέως δ' ἂν χόνδρου φάγοιμι τῶν ὀστρακίδων
ἢ τῶν κοκκάλων ἀφθόνως ἔχοντος.” καὶ
κομισθέντος “δότε,” ἔφη, “μυστίλην· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
εἴποιμι μύστρον . . . . παρ' οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν πρὸ
b ἡμῶν εἰρημένον.” “ἐπιλήσμων εἶ,” ἔφη, “ὦ θαυμάσιε,”
ὁ Αἰμιλιανός. “οὐ σὺ μέντοι τὸν Κολοφώνιον
Νίκανδρον ἀεὶ τεθαύμακας τὸν ἐποποιὸν ὡς

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[1] Schweighäuser deletes μ' before ὑπὸ.

and a fat-licker.' Also in the play entitled *Running-mates*, he has 'fat-licking' in these lines[a]: 'For the brothel-keeper in his fat-licking greed told me to make him a blood sausage like this you see.' Antiphanes, also, mentions the 'fat-licker' in *The Bumble-bee*.[b]

"They also drank sweet wine while still eating dinner,[c] as Alexis shows in *Dropides*[d]: 'The girl came in, carrying the sweet wine in a silver cup which had a wide flare, very pretty to look at. It was neither bowl nor saucer, but partook of the shape of both.'"

Next there was brought in a flat pudding made of milk, meal-cakes, and honey; the Romans call it *libum*. And Cynulcus said: "Stuff yourself, Ulpian, with your native *chthorodlapsum*, a word, as Demeter is my witness, which is not recorded in any ancient writer, unless it be the historians of Phoenicia, your compatriots Sanchuniathon and Mochos." Ulpian answered: "Enough of honey-cakes, you dog-fly[e]! Yet I should be glad to eat a pudding generously filled with the scales or the kernels of pine cones."[f] And when it was brought he said, "Give me a *mystilê*[g]; for I will not use the word *mystron*, . . . which is not found in any author before our time." "Strange that you should be so forgetful," said Aemilianus. "Are you not the one who have always admired the epic poet, Nicander of Colophon,

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[a] Kock ii. 446.
[b] Kock ii. 37.
[c] Before the symposium began. See Introd., vol. i.
[d] Kock ii. 317.
[e] Again alluding to the Cynic school to which Cynulcus belonged; used of a pestiferous courtesan, 157 a.
[f] *Cf.* 57 b.
[g] A piece of bread used in lieu of a spoon.

φιλάρχαιον καὶ πολυμαθῆ; καὶ ὡς τὸ πέπερι ὀνομάσαντα παρέθου; οὗτος τοίνυν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τῶν Γεωργικῶν ἐμφανίζων τὴν τοῦ χόνδρου χρῆσιν καὶ μύστρον ὠνόμασε διὰ τούτων·

> ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἢ ἐρίφοιο νεόσφαγος ἠὲ καὶ ἀρνὸς
> ἠὲ κλυτοῦ[1] ὄρνιθος ἐφοπλίζεσθαι ἐδωδήν,
> χίδρα μὲν ἐντρίψειας ὑποστρώσας ἐνὶ κοίλοις
> c ἄγγεσιν, εὐώδει δὲ μιγῇ ἀνάφυρσον ἐλαίῳ.
> ζωμὸν δὲ βρομέοντα καταντλὰς[2] . . . . .
> . . . . πνῖγε δὲ πῶμα
> ἀμφιβαλών· φωκτὸν γὰρ ἀνοιδαίνει βαρὺ κρῖμνον
> ἠρέμα δὲ χλιαρὸν κοίλοις ἐκδαίνυσο[3] μύστροις.

διὰ τούτων, ὦ θαυμασιώτατε, ὑπογράφει ὁ Νίκανδρος τὴν χρείαν τοῦ τε χόνδρου καὶ τῆς ἐπτισμένης κριθῆς, ἐπιχεῖν κελεύων ἀρνὸς ἢ ἐρίφου ζωμὸν ἢ d ὄρνιθος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χίδρα, φησίν, ἔντριψον μὲν ἐν θυείᾳ, μίξας δ᾽ ἔλαιον αὐτοῖς ἀναφύρασον ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ἕψηται. τὸν ἐκ τῆς τοιᾶσδε σκευῆς ἀναβρομοῦντα ζωμὸν πυκνότερον τῇ ζωμηρύσει καταμίγνυε, μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐπεγχέων, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀρυόμενος πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ὑπερζέσαι τοῦ πιμελεστέρου. διὸ καί φησι, 'κατάπνιγε τὸ ὑπερζέον ἐπιθεὶς πῶμα.' τὸ γὰρ[4] κρῖμνον οὕτω φωκτὸν γινόμενον ἀνοιδεῖ· τελευταῖον δὲ πρᾴως χλιαρὸν γενόμενον κοίλοις προσφέρου τοῖς μύστροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ e Ἱππόλοχος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λυγκέα ἐπιστολῇ δι᾽ ἧς ἐμφανίζει Μακεδονικόν τι δεῖπνον πολυτελείᾳ τὰ πάντα πανταχοῦ γενόμενα ὑπερβαλόν, μνημονεύει ὡς ἑκάστῳ τῶν δειπνούντων δοθέντων μύστρων χρυσῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλάρχαιος εἶναι θέλεις

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[1] Roehl; *cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* κλυτὸς ὄρνις: ἢ αὐτοῦ ACE.

for his learning and love of the antique? Did you not cite his mention of pepper?[a] Well, he is the very one who uses the word *mystron* when describing the use of the word 'pudding,'[b] in the first of his two books on *Farming*. His words are these[c]: 'But when you prepare a dish of fresh-killed kid or lamb or capon, sprinkle some groats in a hollow bowl and pound them well, then stir in a fragrant oil, well mixed. When the broth is boiling hard, pour it over the meal, put the lid on the pan, and smother it; for when it is stewed in this way, the heavy meal swells up. Serve it when mildly warm in hollow *mystra*.' In these terms—strange that you should forget them!—Nicander indicates the use of pudding and barley-groats, directing that a broth of lamb or kid or fowl be poured over it. To repeat his words: pound the groats in a mortar, mix oil with it and stir it in the broth when it begins to boil. When, after these preliminaries, the mixture actively boils up again, it should be stirred with the ladle without adding any other ingredient; simply spoon it off as it is, to prevent any of the rich fat at the top from boiling over. That is why he says 'put on the lid and cover the boiling liquid'; for the meal swells up when it is smothered in this way. Finally, when it has cooled to a mild heat, eat it with hollow pieces of bread. And what is more: Hippolochus of Macedon, in the letter to Lynceus in which he describes a Macedonian dinner surpassing in sumptuousness any that had ever been given anywhere, even mentions gold spoons (*mystra*) given to each guest.[c] And since you are so

[a] 66 c.

[b] Resembling polenta.

[c] Frag. 68 Schneider; *cf.* 129 c.

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[2] CE: καταντας ἐπνίγε A. The editors mark a lacuna here.

[3] Kaibel: ἐκδαίνεο A.

[4] Schweighäuser adds γὰρ.

καὶ οὐδὲν φὴς φθέγξασθαι ὃ μὴ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστι φωνῆς, ὦ φίλτατε, τί ἐστιν ὃ λέγει Νικοφῶν ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς Χειρογάστορσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον εὑρίσκω μνημονεύοντα τῶν μύστρων ὅταν λέγῃ·

μεμβραδοπώλαις, ἀνθρακοπώλαις,
ἰσχαδοπώλαις, διφθεροπώλαις,
f ἀλφιτοπώλαις, μυστριοπώλαις,
βιβλιοπώλαις, κοσκινοπώλαις,
ἐγκριδοπώλαις, σπερματοπώλαις.

τίνες γὰρ ἂν εἶεν οἱ μυστριοπῶλαι ἀλλ'[1] ἢ οἱ τὰ μύστρα πωλοῦντες; μαθὼν οὖν ἐκ τούτων, ὦ καλέ μου Συραττικέ, τὴν τοῦ μύστρου χρῆσιν ἐμφοροῦ τοῦ χόνδρου, ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς 'ἄκικύς εἰμι κὠλιγοδρανέω.'

Τεθαύμακα δὲ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐζήτησας 'ὁ δὲ 127 χόνδρος πόθεν; Μεγαρόθεν ἢ Θετταλικός;' ὅθεν καὶ Μυρτίλος ἐστίν." καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς "παύομαι," ἔφη, "ἐσθίων ἕως ἄν με διδάξῃς παρὰ τίσιν εἴρηνται οὗτοι οἱ χόνδροι." καὶ ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη· "ἀλλ' οὐ φθονήσω σοι. ὁρῶν γὰρ λαμπροτάτην δείπνου παρασκευὴν βούλομαί σε δίκην ἀλεκτρυόνος ἐμφορηθέντα τοῦ χόνδρου κορύξασθαι καὶ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν μέλλομεν ἐδεσμάτων μεταλαμβάνειν." καὶ ὃς δυσχεράνας ἔφη· "πόθεν σοι καὶ τὰ ἐδέ- b σματα; μὴ γὰρ ἀναπαύσασθαι ἔστι ζητοῦντα ἀεί τι πρὸς τοὺς ὀψιμαθεῖς τούτους σοφιστάς;" "ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, "καὶ περὶ τούτου σοι τὸν λόγον, ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ἀποδώσω. λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ χόνδρου Ἀντιφάνους παρατιθέμενος ἐξ Ἀντείας τάδε·

ἐν ταῖς σπυρίσι δὲ τί ποτ' ἔνεστιν, φίλτατε;
B. ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν μὲν χόνδρος ἀγαθὸς Μεγαρικός.

fond of the antique and refuse to speak any word not in the Attic dialect, let me ask you, friend, what Nicophon, poet of the Old Comedy, has to say in *Hand-to-mouth Toilers*. For I find him also mentioning spoons when he says[a]: 'Anchovy-peddlers, charcoal-peddlers, dried-fig-peddlers, hide-peddlers, barley-peddlers, spoon-peddlers, book-peddlers, sieve-peddlers, sweet-cake-peddlers, seed-peddlers.' For what else can *mystriopolae* be than 'spoon-sellers'? Having learnt, then, my noble Syro-Atticist, the use of the word for spoon from these examples, eat your fill of the pudding, that you may not have to say, 'I am weak and faint.'[b]

"I am also surprised that you have not asked where 'pudding' comes from. Is it from Megara or Thessaly, the home of Myrtilus?" And Ulpian said: "I will stop eating while you tell me in what authors these puddings are mentioned." Then Aemilianus said: "Well, I don't mind doing it. For as I look upon this magnificent dinner, I am quite willing that you, having had your fill of pudding, should raise your crest like a cock and instruct us concerning the dishes which we are going to share." But Ulpian, in some vexation, replied, "Dishes, indeed! Are we never to get a rest from putting some question to these upstart pedants?" "None the less," replied Aemilianus, "I am going to render you an account of this word, too. I will begin the discussion of pudding by citing these lines from the *Anteia*[c] of Antiphanes: 'A. Whatever have you got in those baskets, my dear?—B. In three of them there are noble Megarian puddings.—A. But don't

[a] Kock i. 779.

[b] An anonymous quotation.

[c] Kock ii. 24.

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[1] Wilamowitz adds ἀλλ'.

A. οὐ Θετταλικὸν τὸν χρηστὸν εἶναί φασι δέ;
B. . . . . . . τῆς . . Φοινίκης . .
σεμίδαλις, ἐκ πολλῆς σφόδρ᾿ ἐξηττημένη.

c τὸ δ᾿ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δρᾶμα φέρεται καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξιδος ἐν ὀλίγοις σφόδρα διαλλάττον. ἐν δὲ Πονήρᾳ πάλιν ὁ Ἄλεξις·

καὶ χόνδρος ἔνδον ἐστὶ Θετταλικὸς πολύς.

χόνδρον δὲ εἴρηκε τὸ ῥόφημα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν οὕτως·

ἢ χόνδρον ἕψων εἶτα μυῖαν ἐμβαλὼν
ἐδίδου ῥοφεῖν ἄν.

Καὶ σεμιδάλεως δὲ μέμνηται, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰ
μαρτύρια κρατῶ, Στράττις ἐν Ἀνθρωπορέστῃ καὶ
d Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἰσοστασίῳ. τὴν γενικὴν δὲ σεμιδάλιδος
εἴρηκεν ὁ Στράττις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δράματι οὕτω·

τῶν δὲ διδύμων ἐκγόνων
σεμιδάλιδος . . .

τὰ δὲ ἐδέσματα ὠνόμασεν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Διδύμοις οὑτωσί·

ἀπέλαυσα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐδεσμάτων,
πιών τε προπόσεις τρεῖς ἴσως ἢ τέτταρας
ἐστρηνίων πως, καταβεβρωκὼς σιτία
ἴσως ἐλεφάντων τεττάρων.”

Ἐχέτω τέλος καὶ ἥδε ἡ βίβλος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἔχουσα τὴν καταστροφήν· ἀρχὴν γὰρ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξῆς ποιησόμεθα. —οὐ πρότερόν γε, ὦ Ἀθήναιε, πρὶν ἡμῖν διελθεῖν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἱππολόχου τὸ Μακεδονικὸν συμπόσιον. —ἀλλ᾿ εἰ τοῦτό σοι φίλον, ὦ Τιμόκρατες, οὕτω παρασκευαζώμεθα.

they say that the best come from Thessaly ?—B. Yes, . . . and from Phoenicia comes the finest-sifted wheat flour.' But this same play is also ascribed to Alexis, with very divergent readings in a few passages. Alexis again, in *The Love-lorn Lass*[a]: 'We've got a lot of Thessalian pudding in the house.' But Aristophanes uses the word 'pudding' of something sopped up like gruel, in *The Men of Dinnerville*[b]: 'Or, when he cooked gruel, he would put a fly in it and offer it to be sopped up.'

"Very fine wheat flour, under the name *semidalis*, is mentioned by Strattis in *The Man-handler*[c] and by Alexis in *Fair Measure*,[d] even though I cannot quote the lines in testimony. The genitive *semidalidos* occurs in the same play of Strattis[c]: 'and the twin offspring of fine wheat.'[e] *Edesmata*, meaning 'dishes,' are mentioned by Antiphanes in *The Twins*[f] thus: 'I have enjoyed many fine dishes, drunk three or maybe four healths, and had rather a glorious time, devouring victuals enough for four elephants.'"

So let this book come to an end, concluding with this discourse on "dishes." We shall begin our banquet in what follows. "Not so, Athenaeus; not at least until you have related to us the story of the Macedonian symposium as told by Hippolochus." Well, if that is your desire, Timocrates, let us order it so.

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[a] Kock ii. 368.

[b] Kock i. 442.

[c] Kock i. 712. The proper form of the title is Ἀνθρωπορραίστης, and it is so translated. But since the play satirized Hegelochus, the actor of Euripides' *Orestes*, a natural ambiguity arose. Moreover, in Athenaeus's time both forms were pronounced alike.

[d] Kock ii. 328. The title is a joking name for a courtesan.

[e] Or, 'of Semidalis,' *cf.* 242 d.

[f] Kock ii. 45.

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128 Ἱππόλοχος ὁ Μακεδών, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, τοῖς χρόνοις μὲν γέγονε κατὰ Λυγκέα καὶ Δοῦριν τοὺς Σαμίους, Θεοφράστου δὲ τοῦ Ἐρεσίου μαθητάς, συνθήκας δ' εἶχε ταύτας πρὸς τὸν Λυγκέα, ὡς ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐπιστολῶν, πάντως αὐτῷ δηλοῦν εἴ τινι συμπεριενεχθείη δείπνῳ πολυτελεῖ, τὰ ὅμοια κἀκείνου ἀντιπροπίνοντος αὐτῷ. ἑκατέρων οὖν σῴζονται δειπνητικαί τινες ἐπιστολαί, Λυγκέως μὲν τὸ Λαμίας b τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὐλητρίδος ἐμφανίζοντος δεῖπνον Ἀθήνησι γενόμενον Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπίκλην δὲ Πολιορκητῇ (ἐρωμένη δ' ἦν ἡ Λάμια τοῦ Δημητρίου), τοῦ δ' Ἱππολόχου τοὺς Καράνου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐμφανίζοντος γάμους. καὶ ἄλλαις δὲ περιετύχομεν τοῦ Λυγκέως ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν γεγραμμέναις Ἱππόλοχον, δηλούσαις τό τε Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως δεῖπνον Ἀφροδίσια ἐπιτελοῦντος Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. δώσομεν δέ σοι ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς c ἐπιστολάς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἱππολόχου σπανίως εὑρίσκεται, ἐπιδραμοῦμαί σοι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα διατριβῆς ἕνεκα νῦν καὶ ψυχαγωγίας.

Ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦ Καράνου γάμους ἑστιῶντος οἱ μὲν συγκεκλημένοι ἄνδρες ἦσαν

BOOK IV

Hippolochus the Macedonian, friend Timocrates, was a contemporary of the Samians Lynceus and Duris, who were disciples of Theophrastus of Eresus; and he had made this agreement with Lynceus—as we may learn from his letters—that he should without fail describe to him any sumptuous banquet at which he might be present, Lynceus pledging him the same in return. Accordingly there are extant "banquet letters" of both writers, Lynceus describing a dinner given at Athens in honour of King Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, by the Athenian flute-player Lamia, who was the mistress of Demetrius; while Hippolochus describes the nuptials of Caranus the Macedonian. And there are other letters also of Lynceus which we have seen, written to the same Hippolochus, one describing the banquet of King Antigonus when he celebrated the festival of Aphrodite at Athens, another the banquet of King Ptolemy. We will give you the letters just as they are; and since that of Hippolochus is rarely encountered, I will run through its contents for your present amusement and entertainment.

In Macedonia, as I have already said,[a] Caranus celebrated his marriage with a banquet at which the number of men invited to gather was twenty;[b] no

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[a] Athen. 126 e.

[b] See critical note (p. 92).

εἴκοσιν[1]· οἷς καὶ κατακλιθεῖσιν εὐθέως ἐδόθησαν φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ἑκάστῳ μία δωρεά. προεστεφανώκει δὲ καὶ ἕκαστον πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν στλεγγίδι χρυσῇ· πέντε χρυσῶν ἑκάστη δ' ἦν τὸ τίμημα.
d ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπιον τὰς φιάλας, ἐν χαλκῷ πίνακι τῶν Κορινθίων κατασκευασμάτων ἄρτος ἑκάστῳ ἰσόπλατυς ἐδόθη, ὄρνεις τε καὶ νῆσσαι, προσέτι δὲ καὶ φάτται καὶ χὴν καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἄλλη ἀφθονία σεσωρευμένη, καὶ ἕκαστος λαβὼν αὐτῷ[2] πίνακι τοῖς κατόπιν διεδίδου παισίν. ἄλλα δ' ἐσθίειν περιεφέρετο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀργυροῦς πίναξ ἕτερος, ἐφ' ᾧ πάλιν ἄρτος μέγας καὶ χῆνες καὶ λαγωοὶ καὶ ἔριφοι καὶ ἕτεροι ἄρτοι πεπονημένοι καὶ περιστεραὶ καὶ τρυγόνες πέρδικές
e τε καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο πτηνῶν πλῆθος ἦν. "ἐπεδώκαμεν οὖν, φησί, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς δούλοις καὶ ὡς ἅδην εἴχομεν βρώσεως ἐχερνιψάμεθα. καὶ στέφανοι εἰσηνέχθησαν πολλοὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθέων ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε χρυσαῖ στλεγγίδες, ὁλκὴν ἴσαι τῷ πρώτῳ στεφάνῳ."

129 Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις εἰπὼν ὁ Ἱππόλοχος ὡς Πρωτέας ἀπόγονος ἐκείνου Πρωτέου Λανίκης υἱοῦ, ἥτις ἐγεγόνει τροφὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπιε[3] πλεῖστον (ἦν γὰρ πολυπότης ὡς καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Πρωτέας ὁ συγγενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) καὶ ὅτι πᾶσι προὔπιεν, ἑξῆς γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· "ἤδη δὲ ἡμῶν ἡδέως ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἐπεισβάλλουσιν αὐλητρίδες καὶ μου-

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[1] ἦσαν ρ' καὶ εἴκοσιν, "one hundred and twenty," Casaubon.

sooner had they taken their places on the couches, than they were presented with silver cups, one for each, to keep as their own. Each guest, also, had been crowned before he entered with a gold tiara, worth, every one of them, five gold staters.[a] And after they had emptied their cups, they were each given a bronze platter of Corinthian manufacture, containing a loaf as wide as the platter; also chickens and ducks, and ringdoves, too, and a goose, and an abundance of suchlike viands piled high; and each guest took his portion, platter and all, and distributed it among the slaves who stood behind him. Many other things to eat were handed round in great variety, following which came a second platter of silver, on which again lay a huge loaf, and geese, hares, young goats, and curiously moulded cakes besides, pigeons, turtle-doves, partridges, and other fowl in plenty. "This also," he says, "we presented to the slaves in addition, and when we had had enough of food we washed our hands. Then numerous chaplets were brought in, made of all kinds of flowers, and in addition to them all were gold tiaras, equal in weight to the first chaplet."

On top of these viands, Hippolochus says that Proteas, descendant of that Proteas who was the son of Lanicê—the same who had been the nurse of King Alexander—drank a great deal (for he was given to drinking, like his grandfather Proteas, Alexander's comrade), and toasted everybody. Hippolochus then continues with the following: "When we had at last pleasantly taken leave of all sobriety, there entered flute-girls and singers and

[a] Over five guineas, or $27.00.

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[2] αὐτῷ C, *cf.* 129 c: σὺν αὐτῷ A. [3] ἔπιε Meyer: ἐπὶ A.

σουργοὶ καὶ σαμβυκίστριαί τινες Ῥόδιαι, ἐμοὶ
μὲν γυμναὶ δοκῶ, πλὴν ἔλεγόν τινες αὐτὰς ἔχειν
χιτῶνας, ἀπαρξάμεναί τε ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἐπεισῆλθον
ἄλλαι φέρουσαι ληκύθους μύρου ἑκάστη
b δύο συνδεδεμένας ἱμάντι χρυσῷ, τὴν μὲν ἀργυρᾶν,
τὴν δὲ χρυσῆν, κοτυλιαίας, καὶ ἑκάστῳ προσέδωκαν.
ἔπειτ' εἰσφέρεται πλοῦτος ἀντὶ δείπνου,
πίναξ ἀργυροῦς ἐπὶ πάχος οὐκ ὀλίγον περίχρυσος,
ὅσος[1] δέξασθαι μέγεθος χοίρου τινὸς ὀπτοῦ καὶ
σφόδρα μεγάλου, ὃς ὕπτιος ἐπέκειτο τὴν γαστέρα
δεικνὺς ἄνω πλήρη οὖσαν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἦσαν
γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ συνωπτημέναι κίχλαι καὶ νῆτται[2]
c καὶ συκαλλίδων πλῆθος ἄπειρον καὶ ᾠῶν ἐπικεχυμέναι
λέκιθοι καὶ ὄστρεα καὶ κτένες· καὶ ἑκάστῳ
πεπυργωμένα[3] αὐτοῖς πίναξιν ἐδόθη. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα πιόντες ἐλάβομεν ἕκαστος ἔριφον ζέοντα
ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ πάλιν πίνακι τοιούτῳ σὺν μύστροις
χρυσοῖς. ὁρῶν οὖν τὴν δυσχωρίαν ὁ Κάρανος
κελεύει σπυρίδας ἡμῖν καὶ ἀρτοφόρα διὰ ἱμάντων
ἐλεφαντίνων πεπλεγμένα δοθῆναι, ἐφ' οἷς ἡσθέντες
ἀνεκροταλίσαμεν τὸν νυμφίον ὡς καὶ τῶν δοθέντων
ἡμῖν ἀνασεσωσμένων. ἔπειτα στέφανοι πάλιν καὶ
d διλήκυθον μύρου χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν ἰσόσταθμον
τοῖς προτέροις. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπεισβάλλουσιν
ἡμῖν οἱ κἀν τοῖς Χύτροις τοῖς Ἀθήνησι
λειτουργήσαντες. μεθ' οὓς εἰσῆλθον ἰθύφαλλοι
καὶ σκληροπαῖκται καί τινες καὶ θαυματουργοὶ
γυναῖκες εἰς ξίφη κυβιστῶσαι καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ
στόματος ἐκριπίζουσαι γυμναί. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τού-

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[1] After ὅσος A (but not C) adds ὥστε.

[2] Dobree: μῆτραι, "pigs' paunches," codices.

[3] πεπυργωμένα Kaibel: πεπυρωμένα AC.

some Rhodian sambuca-players.[a] To me these girls looked quite naked, but some said that they had on tunics. And after a prelude they withdrew. Then came in other girls carrying each two jars fastened together with a gold band and containing perfume; one jar was silver, the other gold, and held half a pint. These also they gave to each guest. After that there was brought in a fortune rather than a dinner, namely a silver platter gilded all over to no little thickness, and large enough to hold the whole of a roast pig—a big one, too—which lay on its back upon it; the belly, seen from above, disclosed that it was full of many bounties. For, roasted inside it, were thrushes, ducks, and warblers in unlimited number, pease purée poured over eggs, oysters, and scallops; all of which, towering high, was presented to each guest, platters and all. After this we drank, and then received a kid, piping hot, again upon another platter as large as the last, with spoons of gold.[b] Seeing, therefore, our embarrassment, Caranus ordered baskets and bread-racks made of plaited ivory strips to be given us, at which we applauded the bridegroom with delight for having rescued our gifts. Then more crowns again, and a double-jar of gold and silver containing perfume, equal in weight to the first. Quiet being restored, there trooped in men who would have graced even the religious observances at the Athenian Feast of Pots.[c] After them entered ithyphallic dancers, clowns, and some naked female jugglers who performed tumbling acts among swords, and blew fire from their mouths. After

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[a] The *sambuca* was a triangular instrument with four strings.

[b] 126 e.

[c] Referring to the mummers at the Anthesteria, a festival of Dionysus.

των ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἐκλαμβάνει πάλιν ἡμᾶς θερμός τις καὶ ζωρότερος πότος, οἴνων ὄντων ἡμῖν Θασίων καὶ Μενδαίων καὶ Λεσβίων, χρυσίδων πάνυ μεγάλων ἑκάστῳ προσενεχθεισῶν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ὑελοῦς πίναξ, δίπηχύς που τὴν
e διάμετρον, ἐν θήκῃ κατακείμενος ἀργυρᾷ, πλήρης ἰχθύων ὀπτῶν πάντα γένη συνηθροισμένων, ἅπασί τε προσεδόθη καὶ ἀργυροῦν ἀρτοφόρον ἄρτων Καππαδοκίων, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐφάγομεν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐπεδώκαμεν. καὶ νιψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐστεφανούμεθα καὶ πάλιν στλεγγίδας ἐλάβομεν χρυσᾶς, διπλασίους τῶν πρότερον, καὶ ἄλλο διλήκυθον μύρου.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐξαλλόμενος τῆς κλίνης ὁ Πρωτέας αἰτεῖ σκύφον χοαῖον καὶ πληρώσας
f οἴνου Θασίου ὀλίγον τι[1] ἐπιρράνας ὕδατος ἐξέπιεν ἐπειπών·

ὁ πλεῖστα πίνων πλεῖστα κεὐφρανθήσεται.

καὶ ὁ Κάρανος ἔφη· ‘ἐπεὶ πρῶτος ἔπιες, ἔχε πρῶτος καὶ τὸν σκύφον δῶρον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι ἂν πίωσιν ἔσται γέρας.’ ἐφ’ οἷς λεχθεῖσιν ‘οἱ δ’ ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέσταν’ ἁρπάζοντες κἄλλος ἄλλον φθάνοντες. εἷς δὲ τῶν συνδειπνούντων ἡμῖν ἄθλιος οὐ δυνάμενος πιεῖν ἀνακαθίσας ἔκλαιεν ἄσκυφος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁ Κάρανος αὐτῷ χαρίζεται κενὸν τὸ ἔκπωμα. ἐπὶ τούτοις χορὸς
130 εἰσῆλθεν ἀνθρώπων ἑκατὸν ἐμμελῶς ᾀδόντων γαμικὸν ὕμνον, μεθ’ οὓς ὀρχηστρίδες διεσκευασμέναι τρόπον Νηρηίδων, αἱ δὲ Νυμφῶν. τοῦ πότου δὴ προιόντος καὶ τῆς ὥρας ὑποσκιαζούσης

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[1] τι Wilamowitz: τε A.

we had finished with them, our attention was next engrossed in a warm and almost neat drink,[a] the wines at our disposal being Thasian, Mendaean, and Lesbian; and very large gold cups were handed to each guest. After this draught we were all presented with a crystal platter about two cubits in diameter, lying in a silver receptacle and full of a collection of all kinds of baked fish; also a silver bread-rack containing Cappadocian loaves, of which we ate some and gave the rest to the slaves. Then we washed our hands and put on crowns, again receiving gold tiaras twice the size of those we had before, and another double-jar of perfume.

"When all was quiet, Proteas jumped up from his couch and demanded a six-pint bowl, and filling it with Thasian wine with just a dash of water he drank it all saying, 'He that drinks most shall have least sorrow.'[b] And Caranus said, 'Since you have been the first to drink, be the first also to receive the bowl as a gift; and this shall be the meed of all the others who drink.' At these words 'all the nine rose up'[c] and seized a bowl, each striving to get ahead of the other. But one unfortunate, who of all our companions was unable to drink, sat up and wept at his bowlless state, until Caranus made him a present of the cup unfilled. After this a chorus of one hundred men entered singing tunefully a wedding hymn; then came in dancing-girls, some attired as Nereids, others as Nymphs. While then our merrymaking was proceeding, and the late hour was beginning to bring darkness, they threw open

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[a] "A cup of hot wine, with not a drop of allaying Tiber in't," *Coriolanus*, II. i. 52.

[b] Euripides, *T.G.F.*² 541.

[c] *Iliad* vii. 161.

ἀναπεταννύουσι τὸν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ κύκλῳ ὀθόναις
διείληπτο πάντα λευκαῖς· καὶ ἀναπετασθεισῶν
δᾷδες[1] ἐφάνησαν λάθρᾳ κατὰ μηχανὰς σχασθέντων
τῶν φραγμάτων καὶ Ἔρωτες καὶ Ἀρτέμιδες
καὶ Πᾶνες καὶ Ἑρμαῖ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ εἴδωλα
ἀργυροῖς δᾳδουχοῦντα λαμπτῆρσι. θαυμαζόντων
δ' ἡμῶν τὴν τεχνιτείαν Ἐρυμάνθιοι τῷ ὄντι
σύαγροι κατὰ πινάκων τετραγώνων χρυσομίτρων
b σιβύναις ἀργυραῖς διαπεπερονημένοι περιεφέροντο
ἑκάστῳ. καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον, ὅτι παρειμένοι καὶ
καρηβαροῦντες ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὁπότε τι τῶν
ἀγομένων θεασαίμεθα πάντες ἐξενήφομεν, ὀρθοὶ
τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀνιστάμενοι.

Ἔναττον οὖν οἱ παῖδες εἰς τὰς εὐτυχεῖς σπυρίδας,
ἕως ἐσάλπισε τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ τελευταίου
δείπνου σημεῖον· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν
οἶσθα ἔθος ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρώποις εὐωχίαις
c γινόμενον. καὶ ὁ Κάρανος ἄρξας πότου μικροῖς
ἐκπώμασι περισοβεῖν ἐκέλευε τοῖς παισίν. ἐπίνομεν
οὖν εὐμαρῶς ὥσπερ ἀντίδοτον ἐκ τῆς
προτέρας ἀκρατοποσίας λαμβάνοντες. ἐν τούτῳ
δὲ ὁ γελωτοποιὸς εἰσῆλθε Μανδρογένης, ἐκείνου
Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ, ὥς φασιν, ἀπόγονος
καὶ πολλοὺς κατέρρηξεν ἡμῖν[2] γέλωτας· καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα ὠρχεῖτο μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔτη οὔσης
ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ τελευταῖαι ἐπεισῆλθον
ἐπιδόρπιαι τράπεζαι, τραγήματά τ' ἐν πλεκτοῖς
ἐλεφαντίνοις ἐπεδόθη πᾶσι καὶ πλακοῦντες ἕκαστα
d γένη, Κρητικῶν καὶ τῶν σῶν, ἑταῖρε Λυγκεῦ,
Σαμιακῶν καὶ Ἀττικῶν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις τῶν
πεμμάτων θήκαις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναστάντες

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[1] δᾷδες AC: Ναΐδες ("Naiads") Kaibel.

[2] ἡμῖν Meyer: ἡμῶν AC.

the room, which had been curtained all about with white linen; and when this was drawn back, the barriers being let down by a hidden contrivance, there rose to our view torches: Cupids and Dianas, Pans and Hermae and many similar figures held the lights in silver brackets. While we were admiring this artistic device, veritable Erymanthian[a] boars were served to each guest, on square platters rimmed with gold; they were skewered with silver spears. The wonderful thing about it was, that though relaxed and heavy with wine, as soon as we saw any of these things introduced we all became sober enough to stand on our feet, as the saying is.[b]

"Well, the slaves began to stuff our happy baskets full until the customary signal for concluding the banquet was sounded on the trumpet; for this, as you know, is the Macedonian practice at dinners attended by many guests. Then Caranus, leading off the drinking in small cups, ordered the slaves to circulate them quickly. We, therefore, sipped them gently as an antidote to the drinking of unmixed wine which had gone before. Meanwhile, the clown Mandrogenes had come in, a descendant, so they say, of the celebrated Athenian clown Straton. He caused many a loud laugh among us by his jokes, and afterwards danced with his wife, who was over eighty years old. And last there came in the concluding courses; that is, dessert in ivory baskets, and flat cakes of every variety, Cretan and your own Samian, friend Lynceus, and Attic, were given to all as a present along with the boxes in which they were separately packed. So, after this, we

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[a] *i.e.* as huge as the one which Heracles overcame on Mt. Erymanthus.

[b] *Cf. Iliad* xxiv. 11.

ἀπηλλαττόμεθα νήφοντες νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ πλούτου ὃν ἐλάβομεν. σὺ δὲ μᾶλλον,[1] ἐν Ἀθήναις μένων, εὐδαιμονίζεις τὰς Θεοφράστου θέσεις ἀκούων, θύμα καὶ εὔζωμα καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς ἐσθίων στρεπτούς, Λήναια καὶ Χύτρους θεωρῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ Καράνου δείπνου πλοῦτον ἀντὶ μερίδων εὐωχηθέντες νῦν ζητοῦμεν οἱ μὲν οἰκίας, οἱ δὲ ἀγρούς, οἱ δὲ ἀνδράποδ' ὠνήσασθαι."

e Εἰς ταῦτα, ὦ ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, ἀποβλέπων τίνι συγκρῖναι ἔχεις τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δείπνων τὸ προκείμενον τοῦτο συμπόσιον; ὁπότε καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν Οἰνομάῳ ἢ Πέλοπι διαπαίζων ἔφη·

τί δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες μικροτράπεζοι,
φυλλοτρῶγες δράσειαν; ὅπου
τέτταρα λήψῃ κρέα μίκρ' ὀβολοῦ.
παρὰ δ' ἡμετέροις προγόνοισιν ὅλους
f βοῦς ὤπτων, ὗς,[2] ἐλάφους, ἄρνας·
τὸ τελευταῖον δ' ὁ μάγειρος ὅλον
τέρας ὀπτήσας μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ
θερμὴν παρέθηκε κάμηλον.

ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσι καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμφανίζων τὴν μεγαλειότητά φησιν·

ΠΡ. εἶτ' ἐξένιζε παρετίθει θ' ἡμῖν ὅλους
131 ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς. ΔΙΚ. καὶ τίς εἶδε πώποτε
βοῦς κριβανίτας; τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων.
ΠΡ. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί' ὄρνιν τριπλάσιον Κλεωνύμου
παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν· ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ φέναξ.

Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Πρωτεσιλάῳ διασύρων τὸ τῶν Ἰφικράτους γάμων συμπόσιον, ὅτε ἤγετο

arose and took our leave, quite sober—the gods be my witness!—because we were apprehensive for the safety of the wealth we took with us. But you, staying in Athens, think it happiness rather to listen to the precepts of Theophrastus, eating wild thyme and rocket-seed and your esteemed rolls while you attend the festivals of the Lenaea and the Pots! We, however, have carried away a fortune from Caranus's banquet instead of trifling portions, and are now looking for houses or lands or slaves to buy."

With this example before our eyes, friend Timocrates, what Greek banquet can you compare with the symposium just described? Why, even Antiphanes, the comic poet, once said disparagingly in the *Oenomaüs* (or *Pelops*)[a]: "But what could leaf-chewing Greeks, scant of table, accomplish? Among them you can get only four little pieces of meat for a ha'penny. But among our ancestors they used to roast whole oxen, swine, deer, and lambs. Lately our cook roasted a monster entire and served the Great King with a—hot camel." So, too, Aristophanes in *The Acharnians*[b] dilates on the magnificence of the Persians: "ENVOY: And then he entertained us, serving us with whole oxen from the oven.—DICAEOPOLIS: And who ever saw oven-roasted oxen? What humbug!—ENVOY: Yes, I swear it by Zeus, he also set before us a fowl three times as big as Cleonymus; and its name was Cheat[c]." And Anaxandrides, ridiculing in *Protesilaus* the symposium at Iphicrates' wedding, when he

[a] Kock ii. 81. [b] l. 85. [c] Probably an ostrich is meant.

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[1] μᾶλλον Meyer: μόνον A, om. C.
[2] ὤπτων, ὗς Jacobs: ὀπτῶσιν A.

τὴν Κότυος τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα, φησί·

κἂν ταῦτα ποιῆθ' ὥσπερ φράζω,
λαμπροῖς δείπνοις δεξόμεθ' ὑμᾶς,
οὐδὲν ὁμοίοις τοῖς Ἰφικράτους
τοῖς ἐν Θρᾴκῃ· καίτοι φασὶν
b βουβαυκαλόσαυλα[1] γενέσθαι·
κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν μὲν ὑπεστρῶσθαι
στρώμαθ' ἁλουργῆ μέχρι τῆς ἀκάτου[2]·
δειπνεῖν δ' ἄνδρας βουτυροφάγους,
αὐχμηροκόμας μυριοπληθεῖς·
τοὺς δὲ λέβητας χαλκοῦς εἶναι
μείζους λάκκων δωδεκακλίνων·
αὐτὸν δὲ Κότυν περιεζῶσθαι
ζωμόν τε φέρειν ἐν χοὶ χρυσῇ
καὶ γευόμενον τῶν κρατήρων
πρότερον μεθύειν τῶν πινόντων.
αὐλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀντιγενείδαν,
Ἀργᾶν δ' ᾄδειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν
Κηφισόδοτον τὸν Ἀχαρνῆθεν·
c μέλπειν δ' ᾠδαῖς
τοτὲ μὲν Σπάρτην τὴν εὐρύχορον,
τοτὲ δ' αὖ Θήβας τὰς ἑπταπύλους,
τὰς ἁρμονίας μεταβάλλοντας,
φερνάς τε λαβεῖν δύο μὲν ξανθῶν
ἵππων ἀγέλας αἰγῶν τ' ἀγέλην
χρυσοῦν τε σάκος
. . . . φιάλην τε λεπαστὴν
χιόνος τε πρόχουν κέρχνων τε χύτραν
βολβῶν τε σιρὸν δωδεκάπηχυν
καὶ πουλυπόδων ἑκατόμβην.
ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως φασὶ ποιῆσαι

married the daughter of the Thracian king Cotys, says[a]: "And if you do that as I tell you, we will entertain you with a brilliant banquet, quite unlike that of Iphicrates in Thrace; and yet they say that was a grand swagger! Over the market-place were spread purple rugs down to where his pinnace lay. At the dinner were your butter-eating gentry, with unkempt hair and in countless numbers. The kettles were bronze and bigger than cellars containing a dozen beds. Cotys himself had an apron on, and brought the soup in a gold pitcher; and what with tasting the wine in the mixing-bowls he got drunk before the guests did. Flute music was furnished them by Antigeneidas, singing by Argas, harp music by Cephisodotus of Acharnae; and in their lays they celebrated, now Sparta with its broad acres, now Thebes again, the seven-gated, interchanging their themes. And the groom, 'twas said, received as dower two droves of chestnut mares, a herd of goats, a golden sack and a wastrel[b] cup, a pitcher of snow, a pot of millet, a bin of bulbs,[c] twelve cubits deep, and a hecatomb of octopuses. In this

[a] Kock ii. 151.
[b] *Cf.* Athen. 485 a.
[c] See 63 d, note.

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[1] Meineke, Haupt: *βυβακαλους αὐτὰ* A.
[2] *ἀκάτου* Kock: *ἄρκτου* AC.

Κότυν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, γάμον Ἰφικράτει.
τούτων δ᾽ ἔσται πολὺ σεμνότερον
καὶ λαμπρότερον παρὰ δεσποσύνοις
d τοῖς ἡμετέροις. τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει
δόμος ἡμέτερος, ποίων ἀγαθῶν;
οὐ σμύρνης ἐκ[1] Συρίας ὀδμαὶ
λιβάνου τε πνοαί,[2] τερενοχρῶτες
μαζῶν ὄψεις, ἄρτων, ἀμύλων,
πουλυποδείων, χολίκων, δημοῦ,
φυσκῶν, ζωμοῦ, τεύτλων, θρίων,
λεκίθου, σκορόδων, ἀφύης, σκόμβρων,
ἐνθρυμματίδων, πτισάνης, ἀθάρης,
κυάμων, λαθύρων, ὤχρων, δολίχων,
μέλιτος, τυροῦ, χορίων, πυῶν,[3]
καρύων, χόνδρου,
κάραβοι ὀπτοί, τευθίδες ὀπταί,
κεστρεὺς ἑφθός, σηπίαι ἑφθαί,
μύραιν᾽ ἑφθή, κωβιοὶ ἑφθοί,
e θυννίδες ὀπταί, φυκίδες ἑφθαί,
βάτραχοι, πέρκαι,
συνόδοντες, ὄνοι, βατίδες, ψῆτται,
γαλεός, κόκκυξ, θρίσσαι, νάρκαι,
ῥίνης τεμάχη, σχαδόνες, βότρυες,
σῦκα, πλακοῦντες, μῆλα, κράνειαι,
ῥόαι, ἕρπυλλος, μήκων, ἀχράδες,
κνῆκος, ἐλᾶαι, στέμφυλ᾽, ἄμητες,
πράσα, γήτειον, κρόμμυα, φυστή,
βολβοί, καυλοί, σίλφιον, ὄξος,
μάραθ᾽, ᾠά, φακῆ, τέττιγες, ὀποί,[1]
κάρδαμα, σήσαμα, κήρυκες, ἅλες,
πίνναι, λεπάδες, μύες, ὄστρεια,
κτένες, ὄρκυνες· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις

wise, they say, Cotys made a marriage for Iphicrates in Thrace. But in our master's house the feast shall be far more imposing and brilliant than that. For what does our house lack, what good things fail? Surely not perfumes from Syrian myrrh, the breath of frankincense, visions of tender-flaked barley cakes, wheat bread, fine meal cakes, octopuses, entrails, suet, sausages, soup, beets, stuffed fig-leaves,[a] pease porridge, garlic, anchovies, mackerel, wine sops, barley gruel, Egyptian groats, beans, vetch, pulse, kidney-beans, honey, cheese, haggis, beestings, walnuts, groats, broiled crawfish, broiled squid, boiled mullet, boiled cuttle-fish, a murry boiled, gobios boiled, baked roe-tunny, boiled wrasse, angler-fish, perch, dentet, hake, ray, sole, dogfish, piper, shad, skate, electric-ray, monk-fish steaks, honeycomb, grapes, figs, flat-cakes, apples, cornel-nuts, pomegranates, thyme, poppy, pears, sour thistle, olives, olive-cake, milk-cakes, leeks, horn-onions, onions, raised barley-bread, bulbs, cauliflowers, silphium, vinegar, fennel, eggs, lentils, grasshoppers, rennet, cress, sesame, tritons, salt, pinnas, limpets, mussels, oysters, scallops, tunny; and besides all this, fowls in

[a] *θρῖον*, a dish often mentioned by the comic poets, consisting of eggs, milk, flour, honey, cheese, and lard in a wrapping of fig leaves. *Cf.* the modern Greek dish *dolmades*, made with grape leaves.

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[1] *ἐκ* Kaibel : *καὶ* A.
[2] *πνοαί* Schweighäuser : *ποῖαι* AC.
[3] *πυῶν* Schweighäuser, *cf.* 311 d : *πυρῶν* "wheat" A.
[4] *ὀποί* Meineke : *ὀπτοί* AC.

ὀρνιθαρίων ἄφατον πλῆθος,
f νηττῶν, φαττῶν, χῆνες, στρουθοί,
κίχλαι, κόρυδοι, κίτται, κύκνοι,
πελεκάν, κίγκλοι, γέρανος— Β.[1] τουδὶ
τοῦ χάσκοντος διατειναμένη
διὰ τοῦ πρωκτοῦ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν
διακόψειεν τὸ μέτωπον.
Α. οἶνοι δέ σοι, λευκός, ...
γλυκύς, αὐθιγενής, ἡδύς, καπνίας.

Λυγκεὺς δ᾽ ἐν Κενταύρῳ διαπαίζων τὰ Ἀττικὰ δεῖπνά φησι·

μάγειρ᾽, ὁ θύων ἐστὶ[2] δειπνίζων τ᾽ ἐμὲ
Ῥόδιος, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὁ κεκλημένος Περίνθιος.
οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἥδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
δείπνοις. ἀηδία γάρ ἐστιν Ἀττικὴ
132 ὥσπερ ξενική· παρέθηκε πίνακα γὰρ μέγαν
ἔχοντα μικροὺς πέντε πινακίσκους ἄνω·
τούτων ὁ μὲν ἔχει σκόροδον, ὁ δ᾽ ἐχίνους δύο,
ὁ δὲ θρυμματίδα γλυκεῖαν, ὁ δὲ κόγχας δέκα,
ὁ δ᾽ ἀντακαίου μικρόν. ἐν ὅσῳ δ᾽ ἐσθίω,
ἕτερος ἐκεῖν᾽, ἐν ὅσῳ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος, τοῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ
ἠφάνισα. βούλομαι δέ γ᾽, ὦ βέλτιστε σύ,
κἀκεῖνο καὶ τοῦτ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδύνατα βούλομαι·
b οὔτε στόματα γὰρ οὔτε χεῖρας[3] πέντ᾽ ἔχω.
ὄψιν μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα ποικίλην,
ἀλλ᾽ οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα·
κατέπασα[4] γὰρ τὸ χεῖλος, οὐκ ἐνέπλησα δέ.
τί οὖν ἔχεις; Β. ὄστρεια πολλά. Α. πίνακά μοι
τούτων παραθήσεις αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ μέγαν.
ἔχεις ἐχίνους; Β. ἕτερος ἔσται σοι πίναξ·
αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπριάμην ὀκτὼ ὀβολῶν.

number too great to tell: ducks, pigeons, geese, sparrows, thrushes, larks, jays, swans, pelican, wagtails,[a] crane— B. May she give a good push through the tail and the ribs of this gaping fool and crack his skull! A. But there are wines for you—white, sweet, native, of mild bouquet or smoky."

Lynceus, also ridiculing Athenian dinners in *The Centaur*,[b] says: "I say, cook! He who is to offer sacrifice and entertain me is a Rhodian, while I, who am the guest, come from Perinthus. Neither of us likes an Athenian dinner. There is a revolting quality in things Attic as in things foreign. For the cook sets before you a large tray on which are five small plates. One of these holds garlic, another a pair of sea-urchins, another a sweet wine sop, another ten cockles, the last a small piece of sturgeon. While I am eating this, another is eating that; and while he is eating that, I have made away with this. What I want, good sir, is both the one and the other, but my wish is impossible. For I have neither five mouths nor five right hands. Such a lay-out as that seems to offer variety, but is nothing at all to satisfy the belly. For I simply bespatter my lips, I don't fill them. What, then, have you?—THE COOK. A lot of oysters.—A. You shall serve me a plate of them, all by itself, and not a small one, either. Have you sea-urchins?—COOK. Yes, of these you shall have a second course. For I bought them myself, fourpence worth.—A. This then is the one

[a] Or, dabchicks?

[b] Kock iii. 274

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[1] Kock rightly introduces here a second speaker who is tired of this long recital.

[2] Herwerden: *ἐστιν ὁ* A.

[3] *χεῖρας* Emperius, *cf.* 137 c: *χείλη* A.

[4] *κατέπασα* Meineke: *κατέπλησα* AC.

A. ὀψάριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραθήσεις μόνον,
ἵνα ταὐτὰ πάντες, μὴ τὸ μὲν ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἕτερος. . . .

c Δρομέας δ' ὁ παράσιτος ἐρωτήσαντός τινος αὐτόν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος, πότερον ἐν ἄστει γίνεται βελτίω δεῖπνα ἢ ἐν Χαλκίδι, τὸ προοίμιον εἶπε τῶν ἐν Χαλκίδι δείπνων χαριέστερον εἶναι τῆς ἐν ἄστει παρασκευῆς, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀστρέων καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν προοίμιον εἰπὼν δείπνου. Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἀπολειπούσῃ μάγειρόν τινα παράγων ποιεῖ τάδε λέγοντα·

πόσοι τὸ πλῆθός εἰσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι
d εἰς τοὺς γάμους, βέλτιστε, καὶ πότερ' Ἀττικοὶ
ἅπαντες ἢ κἀκ τοὐμπορίου τινές; B. τί δαὶ
τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸν μάγειρον; A. τῆς τέχνης
ἡγεμονία τίς ἐστιν αὕτη σοι, πάτερ,
τὸ τῶν ἐδομένων τὰ στόματα προειδέναι.
οἷον Ῥοδίους κέκληκας· εἰσιοῦσι δὸς
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ θερμοῦ τὴν μεγάλην αὐτοῖς σπάσαι
ἀποζέσας σίλουρον ἢ λεβίαν, ἐφ' ᾧ
χαριεῖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ μυρίνην προσεγχέας.
e B. ἀστεῖον ὁ σιλουρισμός. A. ἂν Βυζαντίους,
ἀψινθίῳ σφιν δεῦσον ὅσα γ' ἂν παρατιθῇς,
κάθαλα ποιήσας πάντα κἀσκοροδισμένα.
διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰχθύων
πάντες βλιχανώδεις εἰσὶ καὶ μεστοὶ λάπης.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Τροφωνίῳ·

ξένου τὸ δεῖπνόν ἐστιν ὑποδοχή. B. τίνος;
ποδαποῦ; διαφέρει τῷ μαγείρῳ τοῦτο γάρ.
οἷον τὰ νησιωτικὰ ταυτὶ ξενύδρια,
ἐν προσφάτοις ἰχθυδίοις τεθραμμένα

dish you shall serve by itself, that all may eat it alike—not I one thing, my companion another."

Hegesander of Delphi narrates [a] that the parasite Dromeas, when asked by someone whether he got better dinners in town [b] or in Chalcis, replied that the prelude to a dinner in Chalcis was more delightful than the entire lay-out of a town dinner, meaning by prelude the great quantity and variety of shell-fish. And Diphilus, in *The Woman who left her Husband*,[c] introduces a cook whom he represents as saying: "How many guests, sir, are invited to the wedding? Are they all Athenians, or are there also foreign merchants?—B. How does that concern you, who are the cook?—A. That is the chief part of my art, master, to know beforehand what mouths are going to eat. Suppose you have invited Rhodians: no sooner have they entered, than you must give them the largest sheat-fish or 'lebias' [d] to enjoy, served piping hot. They will like that better than if you poured scented water over their hands.—B. Ay, their sheat-eating is a nice custom.—A. Or suppose they are Byzantians, soak all you serve to them in bitters, with quantities of salt and garlic. For they have so many fish in their part of the world that they are all clammy and full of phlegm." So Menander in *Trophonius* [e]: "The dinner is in honour of a stranger.—B. Who? Where does he come from? For that makes a difference to the cook. These little island strangers, for example, are brought up

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 415.

[b] Athens.

[c] Kock ii. 545.

[d] An unidentified fish. *Cf.* 118 b, 301 c.

[e] Kock iii. 132, Allinson 438; *cf.* 9 c.

f καὶ παντοδαποῖς, τοῖς ἁλμίοις μὲν οὐ πάνυ
ἁλίσκετ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω παρέργως ἅπτεται·
τὰς δ᾽ ὀνθυλεύσεις καὶ τὰ κεκαρυκευμένα
μᾶλλον προσεδέξατ᾽. Ἀρκαδικὸς τοὐναντίον
ἀθάλαττος ὢν τοῖς λοπαδίοις ἁλίσκεται·
Ἰωνικὸς πλούταξ, ὑποστάσεις ποιῶν
κάνδαυλον, ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα.

Ἐχρῶντο γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἀνα-
133 στόμωσιν βρώμασιν ὥσπερ ταῖς ἁλμάσιν ἐλάαις,
ἃς κολυμβάδας καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ἐν
Γήρᾳ φησίν

ὦ πρεσβῦτα, πότερα φιλεῖς τὰς δρυπεπεῖς ἑταίρας
ἢ σὺ[1] τὰς ὑποπαρθένους ἁλμάδας ὡς ἐλάας
στιφράς;

Φιλήμων δ᾽ ἐν Μετιόντι ἢ Ζωμίῳ·

ἰχθύς τί σοι
ἐφαίνεθ᾽ οὑφθός; Β. μικρὸς ἦν, ἀκήκοας;
ἅλμη τε λευκὴ καὶ παχεῖ᾽ ὑπερβολῇ,
κοὐχὶ λοπάδος προσῶζεν οὐδ᾽ ἡδυσμάτων.
b ἐβόων δ᾽[2] ἅπαντες, ὡς ἀγαθὴν ἅλμην ποιεῖς.

ἤσθιον δὲ καὶ τέττιγας καὶ κερκώπας ἀναστομώσεως χάριν. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀναγύρῳ·

πρὸς θεῶν, ἔραμαι[3] τέττιγα φαγεῖν
καὶ κερκώπην θηρευσαμένη
καλάμῳ λεπτῷ.

ἐστὶν δ᾽ ἡ κερκώπη ζῷον ὅμοιον τέττιγι καὶ τιτιγονίῳ,[4] ὡς Σπεύσιππος παρίστησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ[5]

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[1] σὺ added by Bergk.

[2] δ᾽ added by Meineke.

[3] ἔραμαι Porson, *cf.* Eur. *Hipp.* 219: ἐρᾶι A, ἐρᾶς C.

[4] τιτιγονίῳ *cf.* Eust. 229. 30: τιττιγονίῳ Phot. p. 217 Naber: τρυγονίῳ AC.

[5] δευτέρῳ Kaibel: δ᾽ AC.

on all kinds of fish just out of the water, and so they are not at all attracted by preserved fish; if they take it at all, they do it without zest, and welcome more gladly forcemeats and highly seasoned dishes. Your Arcadian, on the other hand, living far from the sea, is caught by oyster-bait, while the Ionian, bloated with wealth, makes his chief dish [a] of pilaf,[b] and foods that provoke desire."

For the ancients employed dishes to whet the appetite, such as olives in brine, which they call *kolymbades* (" divers ").[c] Aristophanes, at any rate, says in *Old Age*[d]: " Do you, master, love the ladies who are over-ripe or the virginal ones with bodies firm as olives steeped in brine?" And Philemon in *The Pursuer*, or *Soupy*[e]: " How did the boiled fish look to you?—B. 'Twas small, do you understand? And there was brine, white and thick beyond belief, and no smell of pan or condiments. And all cried out, 'What a good pickle you make!'" They used to eat even grasshoppers and cicadas as an incentive to appetite. Thus Aristophanes in *Anagyrus*[f]: " Good Heavens, how I yearn to eat a grasshopper and a cicada (*cercopê*) caught on a thin reed." Now the *cercopê* is an animal like a cicada, or *titigonion*, as Speusippus describes them in the

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[a] The *pièce de résistance*, what is called in Cape Cod dialect " the main hearty."

[b] κάνδαυλος, a Lydian dish of several varieties.

[c] *Cf.* 56 b.

[d] Kock i. 426.

[e] Kock ii. 488. The second title appears to be the name of a parasite.

[f] Kock i. 404. A parody of Euripides, *Hippolytus* 219: " Good heavens, how I yearn to course with the hounds, and hurl the Thessalian javelin, poising in hand my barbed missile beside my yellow locks of hair."

Ὁμοίων. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν Ἐπίλυκος ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ. Ἄλεξις ἐν Θράσωνί φησι·

c σοῦ δ' ἐγὼ λαλιστέραν
οὐπώποτ' εἶδον οὔτε κερκώπην, γύναι,
οὐ κίτταν, οὐκ ἀηδόν', οὐ χελιδόνα,[1]
οὐ τρυγόν', οὐ τέττιγα.

Νικόστρατος δ' ἐν Ἅβρᾳ·

πίναξ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν μεγάλων ἡγήσεται
ἔχων ἐχῖνον, ὠμοτάριχον, κάππαριν,
θρυμματίδα, τέμαχος, βολβὸν ἐν ὑποτρίμματι.

Ὅτι δ' ἤσθιον διὰ ἀναστόμωσιν[2] καὶ τὰς δι'
ὄξους καὶ νάπυος γογγυλίδας σαφῶς παρίστησι
d Νίκανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν λέγων οὕτως·

γογγυλίδος δισσὴ γὰρ ἰδ' ἐκ ῥαφάνοιο γενέθλη
μακρή τε στιφρή τε φαείνεται ἐν πρασιῇσι.
καὶ τὰς μέν θ' αὔηνον ἀποπλύνας βορέῃσι,
προσφιλέας χειμῶνι καὶ οἰκουροῖσιν ἀεργοῖς·
θερμοῖς δ' ἰκμανθεῖσαι ἀναζώουσ' ὑδάτεσσι.
τμῆγε δὲ γογγυλίδος ῥίζας (καὶ ἀκαρφέα φλοιὸν
ἦκα καθηράμενος) λεπτουργέας, ἠελίῳ δὲ
αὐήνας ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ὅτε 'ν[3] ζεστῷ ἀποβάπτων
ὕδατι δριμείῃ πολέας ἐμβάπτισον ἅλμῃ,
e ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ λευκὸν γλεῦκος συστάμνισον ὄξει
ἶσον ἴσῳ, τὰς δ' ἐντὸς ἐπιστύψας ἁλὶ κρύψαις.
πολλάκι δ' ἀσταφίδας προχέαις τριπτῆρι λεήνας
σπέρματά τ' ἐνδάκνοντα σινήπυος. εἰν ἑνὶ[4] δὲ τρὺξ
ὄξεος ἰκμάζουσα καὶ ὠμοτέρην ἐπὶ κόρσην
ὥριον ἁλμαίην ἄμυσαι κεχρηόσι δαίτης.

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[1] οὐ χελιδόνα added by Meineke and Cobet.

[2] C: τὴν ἀναστόμωσιν A.

[3] Schweighäuser: ὅτ' ἐν AC.

second book of his *Similars*. Epilycus mentions them in *Coraliscus*.[a] Alexis in *Thrason*[b] says: "Never have I seen such a chatterbox as you, woman, be it cicada or magpie, nightingale or swallow, turtle-dove or grasshopper." And Nicostratus in *The Pet*[c]: "The first platter, leading the main courses, will contain a sea-urchin, some raw smoked fish, capers, a wine-sop, a slice of meat, and a bulb in sour sauce."

But they also ate as an appetizer turnips done in vinegar and mustard, as Nicander plainly shows in the second book of the *Georgics*[d]; for he says: "Of turnip and cabbage, in truth, two families appear in our gardens, long and solid. The latter you wash and dry in the north wind, and they are welcome in winter even to the idle stay-at-homes; for soaked in warm water they come to life again. But the other, the turnip roots, you cut in thin slices, gently cleaning away the undried outer skin, and after drying them in the sun a little, either dip a quantity of them in boiling water and soak them in strong brine; or again, put equal parts of white must and vinegar in a jar together, then plunge the slices in it, having dried them off with salt. Often, too, you may pound raisins and biting mustard-seeds with a pestle and add it to them. When cream of tartar forms, and the top grows more and more bitter, then 'tis time to draw off the pickle for those

[a] Kock i. 804.
[b] Kock ii. 326.
[c] Kock ii. 219. This fragment refers to the use of *hors-d'œuvre* in general.
[d] Frag. 70 Schneider; Athen. 369 b.

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[4] Possibly εἴ γ' ἔνι (Schweighäuser), and ὠμοτέρη ἔτι κόρση (O. Schneider).

f Δίφιλος δ' ἢ Σώσιππος ἐν Ἀπολειπούσῃ·

ἔστιν ἔνδον ὄξος ὀξύ σοι;
B. ὑπολαμβάνω, παιδάριον· ὀπὸν εἰλήφαμεν.
ἄριστα τούτοις πάντα πιέσω καὶ πυκνά,
ἡ φυλλὰς ἡ δριμεῖα περιοισθήσεται·
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων
ἀναστομοῖ τάχιστα τᾀσθητήρια,
τό τε νωκαρῶδες καὶ κατημβλυωμένον
ἐσκέδασε κἀποίησεν ἡδέως φαγεῖν.

134 Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ταραντίνοις ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις φησὶ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι ὑποπιόντας·

τοῦτο γὰρ νῦν ἐστί σοι
ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ταῖς καλαῖς ἐπιχώριον·
ἅπαντες ὀρχοῦντ' εὐθὺς ἂν οἴνου μόνον
ὀσμὴν ἴδωσι· συμφορὰν σύ γ' εἰσορᾶν[1]
φαίης ἂν εἰς συμπόσιον εἰσελθὼν ἄφνω.
καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγενείοις ἴσως ἔπεστί τις
χάρις· ἀλλ' ἐπὰν δὴ τὸν γόητα Θεόδοτον
ἢ τὸν παραμασύντην ἴδω τὸν ἀνόσιον
b βαυκιζόμενον τὰ λευκά τ' ἀναβάλλονθ' ἅμα,
ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀναπήξαιμ'[2] ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου λαβών.

μήποτε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Καρσὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθος τῆς ὀρχήσεως κωμῳδεῖ τινα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς παρὰ δεῖπνον ὀρχούμενον λέγων οὕτως·

οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὀρχούμενον
ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν βάκηλον; οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται
ὁ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος,
ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκὼς τέχνην,
c ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ.

who seek their dinner." Diphilus (or Sosippus) says in *The Woman who left her Husband*[a]:—A. "Have you got sharp vinegar in the house?—B. I fancy so, slave, and we have bought rennet. All this will I squeeze thick together in a nice dish for them, and the salad with sour dressing shall be served for all. For such condiments must speedily rouse the sensory organs of men when they are old, dispel the sloth and bluntness of their desire, and make them glad to eat."

Alexis in *The Tarentines*[b] says that the Athenians have but to take a sip of wine at the symposia to make them dance: "Yes, you must know that that is the native custom in fair Athens. They all begin to dance the moment they glimpse[c] the smell of wine. You'd say you were looking upon some strange mishap should you suddenly join the company. Now for the young, perhaps, there is some grace in it; but when I see that charlatan Theodotus, or the foul parasite, frisking and rolling the whites of his eyes the while, I'd gladly take and nail him to the gallows." Possibly Antiphanes also, in *The Carians*,[d] may be referring to the Athenian custom of dancing when he ridicules a sophist for dancing during dinner in these words: "Don't you see that reprobate dancing with his arms?[e] No shame feels he, the expounder of Heracleitus, the sole discoverer of the art of Theodectas, and the author of a compendium of Euripides." To this quotation one might

[a] Kock ii. 546.
[b] Kock ii. 379.
[c] A comic locution.
[d] Kock ii. 55.
[e] "If you have pretty arms, *dance*," says Ovid.

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[1] *σύ γ' εἰσορᾶν* Casaubon : *λέγεις ἄρ' ἂν* AC.
[2] *ἀναπήξαιμι ἂν αὐτὸν* AC: *ἂν αὐτὸν* deleted by Dobree.

τούτοις οὐδ᾿ ἀναρμόστως ἄν τις ἐπενέγκαι τὰ Ἐρίφῳ τῷ κωμικῷ ἐν Αἰόλῳ εἰρημένα τάδε·

λόγος γάρ ἐστ᾿ ἀρχαῖος οὐ κακῶς ἔχων·
οἶνον λέγουσι τοὺς γέροντας, ὦ πάτερ,
πείθειν χορεύειν οὐ θέλοντας.

Ἄλεξις δ᾿ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἰσοστάσιόν φησιν

ἀπὸ συμβολῶν ἔπινον ὀρχεῖσθαι μόνον
βλέποντες, ἄλλο δ᾿ οὐδέν, ὄψων ὀνόματα
d καὶ σιτίων ἔχοντες, Ὄψων, Κάραβος
καὶ Κωβιός, Σεμίδαλις.

“Ἀττικὸν δὲ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀχαρίτως[1] διαγράφει Μάτρων ὁ παρῳδός, ὅπερ διὰ τὸ σπάνιον οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι,” ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔφη, “ἀπομνημονεῦσαι·

δεῖπνά μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροφα καὶ μάλα πολλά,
ἃ Ξενοκλῆς ῥήτωρ ἐν Ἀθήναις δείπνισεν ἡμᾶς·
e ἦλθον γὰρ κἀκεῖσε, πολὺς δέ μοι ἕσπετο λιμός.
οὗ δὴ καλλίστους ἄρτους ἴδον ἠδὲ μεγίστους,
λευκοτέρους χιόνος, ἔσθειν δ᾿ ἀμύλοισιν ὁμοίους . . .
τάων καὶ Βορέης ἠράσσατο πεσσομενάων·
αὐτὸς δὲ Ξενοκλῆς ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν,
στῆ δ᾿ ἄρ᾿ ἐπ᾿ οὐδὸν ἰών. σχεδόθεν δέ οἱ ἦν παράσιτος
Χαιρεφόων, πεινῶντι λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς,
f νήστης, ἀλλοτρίων εὖ εἰδὼς δειπνοσυνάων.
τῷ δὲ μάγειροι μὲν φόρεον πλῆσάν τε τραπέζας,
οἷς ἐπιτετράφαται μέγας οὐρανὸς ὀπτανιάων
ἠμὲν ἐπισπεῦσαι δείπνου χρόνον ἠδ᾿ ἀναμεῖναι.[2]

add not inappropriately these words of Eriphus the comic poet in *Aeolus*[a]: "For there is an ancient proverb not untrue: they say that wine, my father, persuades old men to dance against their will." And Alexis in the play entitled *Fair Measure*[b] says: "At a subscription-dinner they were drinking with an eye only for the dancing and nothing else; and they took the names of dainties and foods—Relish, Prawn, Gudgeon, and Wheat-flour."

"An Attic dinner," said Plutarch, "is described not unwittily by Matron, the writer of parodies, and because of its rarity I shall not hesitate, my friends, to quote it for you:[c] 'Sing, Muse,[d] of the dinners, many and plenteous, which Xenocles the orator offered us in Athens. For even thither I went, and great hunger came with me.[e] There I beheld fair, large loaves whiter than snow, like finest meal cakes to the taste.[f] For them also did Boreas yearn when they were baking.[g] And Xenocles himself went in review through the ranks of the heroes,[h] but stood still when he came to the threshold.[i] And near him was the parasite Chaerephon, like unto a hungry sea-gull[j]; empty he was, but well acquainted with dinners furnished by others.[k] Thereupon the cooks filled the tables and brought them in—the cooks to whose rule the mighty Heaven of Kitchens is committed,[l] either to hasten the hour of dinner or retard

[a] Kock ii. 428.
[b] Kock ii. 328; *cf.* 127 d.
[c] 60 Brandt.
[d] *Cf. Od.* i. 1.
[e] *Od.* vi. 164.
[f] *Il.* x. 436-7. *Cf.* Athen. 64 c.
[g] *Il.* xx. 223.
[h] *Il.* iii. 196.
[i] *Od.* xx. 128.
[j] *Od.* v. 51.
[k] *Od.* v. 250.
[l] *Iliad* v. 750.

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[1] *ἀχαρίτως* Meineke: *ἀχαρίστως* AC.

[2] **ἀναθεῖναι** Brandt; but *cf.* Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 6. 10.

ἔνθ' ἄλλοι πάντες λαχάνοις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἴαλλον,
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην, ἀλλ' ἤσθιον εἴδατα πάντα,
135 βολβοὺς ἀσπάραγόν τε καὶ ὄστρεα μυελόεντα,
ὠμοτάριχον ἐῶν χαίρειν, Φοινίκιον ὄψον.
αὐτὰρ ἐχίνους ῥῖψα καρηκομόωντας ἀκάνθαις·
οἳ δὲ κυλινδόμενοι καναχὴν ἔχον ἐν ποσὶ παίδων
ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι κύματ' ἐπ' ἠιόνος κλύζεσκε·
πολλὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους εἷλκον ἀκάνθας.
ἡ δὲ Φαληρικὴ ἦλθ' ἀφύη, Τρίτωνος ἑταίρη,
ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη ῥυπαρὰ κρήδεμνα . . .[1]
b τοὺς δ' ὁ Κύκλωψ ἐφίλει καὶ ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐξεπεφύκει . . .
πίνας ἦλθε φέρων κατὰ τρύβλια[2] ἠχήεντα,
ἃς κατὰ φυκότριχος πέτρης λευκὸν τρέφει ὕδωρ . . .
ψῆττά τε χονδροφυὴς καὶ τρίγλη μιλτοπάρῃος.
τῇ δ' ἐγὼ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπέχον κρατερώνυχα χεῖρα
οὐδ' ἔφθην τρώσας μιν, ἄασε δὲ[3] Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.
ὣς δὲ[4] ἴδον Στρατοκλῆ, κρατερὸν μήστωρα φόβοιο,
c τρίγλης ἱπποδάμοιο κάρη μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντα,
ἂψ δ' ἑλόμην χάρμῃ, λαιμὸν δ' ἄπληστον ἄμυξα.
ἦλθε δὲ Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,
σηπίη εὐπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα,
ἣ μόνη ἰχθὺς οὖσα τὸ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν οἶδε.
καὶ Τιτυὸν ἔιδον, λίμνης ἐρικυδέα γόγγρον

[1] Schweighäuser marks a lacuna here and below.

[2] κατὰ τρύβλια Wachsmuth: κατὰ δώματα Meineke: καὶ ἄμυλα AC.

[3] τρώσας μιν, ἄασε δὲ Scaliger: τρώσας ἵνα εἴασε AC.

[4] δὲ added by Musurus.

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[a] *Od.* ix. 288. [b] *Od.* ix. 293. [c] *Cf.* above, 117 a.

it. Thereupon, all the others laid hands on the green herbs,[a] but I did not follow them; rather, I ate of all solid viands—bulbs and asparagus and meaty oysters,[b] avoiding raw smoked fish, that dish for Phoenicians.[c] And forth I dashed down[d] sea-urchins with head-dress of streaming spines, which resounded as they rolled among the slaves' feet[e] in an open space, where the waves surged upon the beach,[f] and many were the spines I pulled by the roots from their heads.[g] Then came the Phaleric anchovy, darling of Triton, holding her soiled veil before her face[h] . . . and they were loved of the Cyclops and grew on the mountains. Then came one bringing pinnas, in ringing bowls,[i] which the white foaming waters nurture on a rock streaming with sea-weed. A sole with thick cartilage, and a red-cheeked[j] mullet came too; and upon it I was among the first to lay a hand with strong nail.[k] But I was not quick enough to wound it, for Phoebus Apollo did me a hurt. But when I saw Stratocles, stern master of the rout,[l] holding the head of the horse-taming mullet in his hands,[m] then did I quickly seize it with joy, and tore open its insatiable throat. And there came the daughter of Nereus, silver-footed Thetis, the fair-tressed cuttle, dread goddess with voice of mortal,[n] who of all fish alone knows the difference between black and white.[o] I saw Tityus, too, glorious conger-eel of the marshy lake,[p]

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[d] *i.e.* on the ground, in order to break them.

[e] *Il.* xvi. 794.

[f] *Il.* xxiii. 61.

[g] *Il.* x. 15.

[h] *Od.* i. 334.

[i] *Od.* iv. 72. See critical note.

[j] *Od.* ix. 125.

[k] *Od.* xvii. 410?

[l] *Il.* xii. 39.

[m] *Il.* xxiv. 724.

[n] *Od.* x. 136.

[o] Referring to the inky fluid (sepia) which the cuttle-fish emits to blind pursuers.

[p] *Od.* xi. 576.

κείμενον ἐν λοπάδεσσ'· ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο
τραπέζας.
τῷ δὲ μετ' ἴχνια βαῖνε θεὰ λευκώλενος ἰχθὺς
d ἔγχελυς, ᾗ Διὸς εὔχετ' ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι μιγῆναι,
ἐκ Κωπῶν,[1] ὅθεν ἐγχέλεων γένος ἀγροτεράων,
παμμεγέθης, ἣν οὔ κε δύ' ἀνέρες ἀθλητῆρες,
οἷοι ἄρ' Ἀστύαναξ τε καὶ Ἀντήνωρ ἐγένοντο,
ῥηιδίως ἐπ' ἄμαξαν ἀπ' οὔδεος ὀχλίσσειαν·
τρισπίθαμοι γὰρ ταί γε καὶ ἐννεαπήχεες ἦσαν
εὖρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι.
πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα κατὰ στέγος ἦλθ' ὁ
μάγειρος,
σείων ὀψοφόρους πίνακας κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον.
e τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι χύτραι ἕποντο,
αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας λοπάδες τόσαι ἐστιχόωντο.
Ἶρις δ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδήνεμος, ὠκέα τευθίς,
πέρκη τ' ἀνθεσίχρως καὶ ὁ δημοτικὸς μελάνουρος,
ὃς καὶ θνητὸς ἐὼν ἕπετ' ἰχθύσιν ἀθανάτοισιν.
οἴη δ' αὖ θύννου κεφαλὴ θαλαμηιάδας
νόσφιν ἀφειστήκει, κεχολωμένη οὕνεκα τευχέων
αἱρομένων· τὸ δὲ πῆμα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι.
f ῥίνη θ', ἣν φιλέουσι[2] περισσῶς τέκτονες ἄνδρες,
τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
ἧς σαρκὸς δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.
ὀπταλέος δ' εἰσῆλθε πελώριος ἱππότα κεστρεὺς
οὐκ οἶος· ἅμα τῷ γε δυώδεκα σαργοὶ ἕποντο.

[1] ἐκ Κωπῶν Kaibel: ἐν κοιτῶν' A.
[2] ῥίνη θ' ἣν φιλέουσι Meineke: ῥίνην φιλέουσι A (*cf.* 136 b).

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[a] *Od.* iii. 30; *Il.* i. 55.
[b] *Od.* xi. 267.
[c] *Il.* ii. 852.
[d] *Il.* xii. 447.
[e] *Il.* xii. 448.
[f] *Od.* xi. 311.
[g] *Od.* xi. 312.
[h] *Il.* xxiii. 116.
[i] *Il.* v. 46.
[j] *Il.* ii. 534.

lying in the casseroles; and its length covered nine tables. In its tracks followed the white-armed goddess-fish,[a] the eel, who boasted that she had lain in Zeus's embrace,[b] from the Copaic Lake whence comes the race of wild eels.[c] Of mighty size was she, and two men who contend for prizes,[d] such as Astyanax and Antenor were, could not have lifted her easily from the ground into a cart.[e] For they measured nine cubits and three spans[f] in width, and they were nine fathoms long.[g] Oft did the cook go back and forth throughout the room,[h] balancing on right shoulder the platters covered with dainties,[i] and forty black kettles followed him close,[j] while from Euboea there marched in close array as many casseroles.[k] Came, too, the windswift messenger Iris, the fleet squid,[l] and the flower-dotted perch and plebeian black-tail, which, mortal though he was, was companion of fishes immortal.[m] But alone and apart, wroth at the loss of his armour, stood the head of the tunny, son of Lurkhole[n]; and the gods had made it a bane to men.[o] The monk-fish, which carpenters[p] love extravagantly, was there—the rough but kindly nourisher of the young; I shall never behold anything sweeter than its flesh.[q] There entered, too, that doughty knight,[r] baked mullet, yet not alone; for a dozen sargs followed in close com-

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[k] *Il.* ii. 516. *Cf.* below, 169 e f.

[l] *Il.* ii. 786.

[m] *Il.* xvi. 154.

[n] *Od.* xi. 543 and 557. The angry tunny-head in the parody is a fusion of Ajax defrauded of his armour (which in the case of the fish is his scale-covered body) and the sulking Achilles, whose surname "son of Peleus" sounded in Greek somewhat like "son of Lurkhole."

[o] *Od.* xi. 555.

[p] *Il.* vi. 315.

[q] *Od.* ix. 27.

[r] *Il.* ii. 336.

κυανόχρως δ' ἀμίας ἐπὶ τοῖς μέγας, ὅς τε θαλάσσης
πάσης βένθεα οἶδε, Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδμώς,
136 καρῖδές θ', αἳ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου εἰσὶν ἀοιδή,[1]
αἳ δὴ γήραι κυφαὶ[2] ἔσαν, χρησταὶ δὲ πάσασθαι.
χρύσοφρυς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἄλλοις ἵσταται ἰχθύς,
κάραβος, ἀστακὸς αὖτε λιλαίετο θωρήσσεσθαι
ἐν μακάρων δείπνοις. τοῖς δαιτυμόνες χέρ' ἐφέντες
ἐν στόμασίν τ'[3] ἔθεσαν καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἄλλυδις ἄλλον.
τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἔλοψ κρείων δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,
b οὗ πλήρης περ ἐὼν κρατερῶς παλάμῃ ἐπορέχθην
γεύσασθ' ἱμείρων· τὸ δέ γ' ἀμβροσίη μοι ἔδοξεν,
οἵην[4] δαίνυνται μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες.
μύραιναν δ' ἐπέθηκε φέρων, προκάλυμμα[5] τραπέζης,
ζώνην θ', ἣν φορέεσκεν ἀγαλλομένη περὶ δειρήν,
εἰς λέχος ἡνίκ' ἔβαινε Δρακοντιάδῃ μεγαθύμῳ.
σάνδαλα δ' αὖ παρέθηκεν ἀειγενῆ ἀθανατάων,
c βούγλωσσόν θ',[6] ὃς ἔναιεν ἐν ἅλμῃ μορμυρούσῃ,
κίχλας δ' ἑξείης ἡβήτορας ὑψιπετήεις
καὶ πέτρας κάτα βοσκομένας, ὑάδας θ' ὑδατινούς.
ἐν δ' ἀναμὶξ σαργοί τε καὶ ἵππουροι γλάνιές τε,
μόρμυρος ἄντα δ' ἐῆν, γαλέη,[7] σπάρος· οὓς ὁ μάγειρος

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[1] ἀοιδή Ludwich: ἀοιδοί AC.
[2] αἳ δὴ γήραι κυφαὶ Paessens, *cf. Od.* ii. 16: αιδηγαρϊκυφαι A.
[3] τ' added by Meineke.
[4] οἵην Nauck: εἶναι ἣν AC.
[5] προκάλυμμα Kaibel: τὸ κάλυμμα AC.
[6] βούγλωσσόν θ' Meineke: βουγλώσσων ὃς A.
[7] ἐῆν, γαλέη Scaliger: ἣν μεγάλη AC.

pany.[a] After them came a mighty blue-skinned bonito, which knows the depths of every sea, Poseidon's henchman.[b] And prawns there were, theme of Olympian Zeus's song, which were crooked with age, but good to eat.[c] The gilt-head was there, the fairest fish amid all others,[d] the crawfish, too, and the lobster eager to arm for the fray[e] at the feasts of the Blessed. Upon them the feasters laid hands and put them to their mouths, pulling them this way and that.[f] Their leader was the lordly *elops*, glorious in battle,[g] for which, sated though I was, I stretched forth a lusty hand, eager[h] to taste of it; and it seemed to me as ambrosia, on which feast the blessed gods that live for ever.[i] Then the cook brought and added to our store a murry which covered the table,[j] and the girdle which she wore with pride about her neck,[k] what time she wed the high-souled son of Dracon. Sandals,[l] again he placed beside us, everliving offspring of immortal goddesses, and a sole, which dwelt in the roaring brine[m]; then lusty wrasse in order, high-flying,[n] which feed among rocks, and watery piglings.[o] And mingled with all were sargs and horse-tails and sheats, and opposite a sea bream, a hake and a sargus. These the cook

[a] *Il.* iii. 143.
[b] *Od.* iv. 385-6.
[c] *Od.* ii. 16. *Cf.* Athen. 64 c.
[d] *Il.* xxii. 318.
[e] *Od.* xx. 27.
[f] *Od.* xi. 385.
[g] *Il.* ii. 645; the ἔλοψ or ἔλλοψ was it seems a sturgeon.
[h] *Od.* x. 555.
[i] *Od.* v. 7.
[j] *Od.* xvii. 333.
[k] *Il.* iv. 137.
[l] A fish like the flounder.
[m] *Il.* vi. 396.
[n] The epithet, of course, is appropriate to κίχλαι only in its normal sense, "thrushes."
[o] The Hyades portend rain.

σίζοντας παρέθηκε φέρων, κνίσωσε δὲ δῶμα.
τῶν ἔλεγεν δαίνυσθαι· ἐμοὶ δέ γε θηλυτεράων
εἶναι βρώματ᾽ ἔδοξεν· ἔπειθ᾽ ὥρμαινον[1] ἐπ᾽ ἄλλα.
d κεῖτο δέ τις βατάνη, ἧς οὐδεὶς ἥπτετο δειπνῶν,
ἐν καθαρῷ ὅθι περ λοπάδων διεφαίνετο χῶρος. . . .[2]
ἑξῆς κόσσυφος ἦλθ᾽ ἐμοί, ὃς γεύσασθαι ἕτοιμος
ἤμην·[3] οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἄθικτος ἔην, πόθεον δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι.
κωλῆν δ᾽ ὡς ἔιδον, ὡς ἔτρεμον[4]· ἐν δὲ σίναπυ
κεῖτ᾽ ἀγχοῦ γλυκερὸν χρυσὸς ὥς, πλείον᾽ ἐρῦκον.[5]
γευσάμενος δ᾽ ἔκλαιον, ὅτ᾽ αὔριον οὐκ ἔτι ταῦτα
ὄψομαι, ἀλλά με τυρῷ δεῖ καὶ μάζῃ ὀτρηρῇ. . . .
e Νηδὺς[6] δ᾽ οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, βιάζετο γάρ ῥ᾽ ἀχέεσσι[7]·
δάμνα μιν ζωμός τε μέλας ἀκροκώλιά θ᾽ ἑφθά.
παῖς δέ τις ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν τρισκαίδεκα νήσσας,
λίμνης ἐξ ἱερῆς, μάλα πίονας· ἃς ὁ μάγειρος
θῆκε φέρων, ἵν᾽ Ἀθηναίων κατέκειντο φάλαγγες . . . .
Χαιρεφόων δ᾽ ἐνόησεν ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω
ὄρνιθας γνῶναι καὶ ἐναίσιμα σιτίζεσθαι.
f ἤσθιε δ᾽ ὥστε λέων, παλάμῃ δ᾽ ἔχε τὸ σκέλος ἀμνοῦ,[8]
ὄφρα οἱ οἴκαδ᾽ ἰόντι πάλιν ποτιδόρπιον εἴη.
χόνδρος δ᾽ ἡδυπρόσωπος, ὃν Ἥφαιστος κάμεν ἕψων,
Ἀττικῷ ἐν κεράμῳ πέττων τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο,

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[1] ἔπειθ᾽ ὥρμαινον Meineke: ἐπεὶ δ᾽ (ἐπὶ δ᾽ C) ὥρμαινον A.
[2] Meineke marks a lacuna.
[3] ἦλθ᾽ . . . ἤμην· Ludwich: ἦλθε μόνος γ. ἕτοιμος οὐ μὴν AC.
[4] δ᾽ ὡς ἔιδον, ὡς ἔτρεμον Scaliger: δ᾽ εἰσῒδον πῶς ἔτρεμεν AC.
[5] γλυκερὸν . . . ἐρῦκον Gulick: γλυκὺ πλείονα χρυσὸς ὧν ἀπερύκων.
[6] νηδὺς Paessens: νηλης AC.
[7] ῥ᾽ ἀχέεσσι Lumb: ῥαδέεσσι AC.
[8] ἀμνοῦ Wachsmuth: αὐτοῦ AC.

brought in and placed[a] steaming beside us, and filled all the house with their savour. On them he urged us to feast; but to me, at least, they seemed to be food for womenfolk, and soon I was borne on to other kinds. Now there lay a dish, which none at the dinner had touched, where in an open space[b] rose to view the place of the saucepans. . . . Next came a blackbird for me, who sat ready to eat it; nor, to be sure, was it untouched, for others yearned for it too. And a ham I saw, and no sooner saw than I trembled[c]; and near it lay the sweetened mustard, yellow as gold, but forbidding one to take too much. And when I had tasted I wept[d] that on the morrow I should not see it again, but must content myself with cheese and the faithful barley-cake.

"'But my belly could not hold out, for it was overcome with pains;[e] the black broth overpowered it, and the boiled pigs' feet as well. But a slave brought from Salamis thirteen fat ducks[f] from the sacred lake, which the cook[g] took and placed where the Athenian phalanxes were posted.[h] And Chaerephon, directing his mind forward and back,[i] recognized the birds, and perceived that they were auspicious for eating.[j] So he ate like a lion,[k] but in his fist he kept a lamb's leg, that he might have wherewith to sup at evening when he went home.[l] And there was a gruel of pleasant aspect which Hephaestus had laboured to boil,[m] cooking it in an Attic bowl for thirteen months.[n] Then when they had banished desire for the delicious supper,[o] and

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[a] *Od.* xvii. 333.
[b] *Il.* x. 199.
[c] *Il.* xiv. 294, *cf.* Theocr. ii. 82.
[d] *Od.* xii. 309.
[e] *Il.* xvi. 102.
[f] *Il.* ii. 557.
[g] *Il.* v. 710.
[h] *Il.* ii. 558.
[i] *Il.* i. 343.
[j] *Od.* ii. 159.
[k] *Od.* ix. 292; i. 104.
[l] *Od.* ix. 234.
[m] *Il.* ii. 101.
[n] *Il.* v. 387.
[o] *Od.* xxiv. 489.

χεῖρας νιψαμένοισιν ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων
ὡραῖος παῖς ἦλθε φέρων μύρον ἴρινον ἡδύ,
137 ἄλλος δ' αὖ στεφάνους ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πᾶσιν ἔδωκεν,
οἳ ῥόδον ἀμφεπλέκοντο διάνδιχα κοσμηθέντες.
κρητὴρ δὲ Βρομίου ἐκεράννυτο, πίνετο δ' οἶνος
Λέσβιος, οὗ δὴ πλεῖστον ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἄνδρα πεπώκει.
δεύτεραι αὖτε τράπεζαι ἐφωπλίζοντο γέμουσαι
b ἐν δ' αὐταῖσιν ἐπῆν ἄπιοι καὶ πίονα μῆλα,
ῥοιαί τε σταφυλαί τε, θεοῦ Βρομίοιο τιθῆναι,
πρόσφατος ἥν θ' ἁμάμαξυν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.
τῶν δ' ἐγὼ οὐδενὸς ἧσθον ἁπλῶς, μεστὸς δ' ἀνεκείμην.
ὡς δὲ ἴδον ξανθόν, γλυκερόν, μέγαν, ἔγκυκλον, ἁδρὸν[1]
Δήμητρος παῖδ' ὀπτὸν ἐπεισελθόντα πλακοῦντα,
c πῶς ἂν ἔπειτα πλακοῦντος ἐγὼ θείου ἀπεχοίμην; . . .
οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν χεῖρες, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
γαστὴρ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη.
πόρναι δ' εἰσῆλθον, κοῦραι δύο θαυματοποιοί,
ἃς Στρατοκλῆς ἤλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὥς.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Συντρέχουσιν ἐπισκώπτων τὰ Ἀττικὰ δεῖπνά φησιν·

ἔγωγε δύο λαβεῖν μαγείρους βούλομαι
d οὓς ἂν σοφωτάτους δύνωμ' ἐν τῇ πόλει.
μέλλοντα δειπνίζειν γὰρ ἄνδρα Θετταλὸν
οὐκ Ἀττικηρῶς οὐδ' ἀπηκριβωμένως
λιμῷ με παρατεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ καθ' ἓν[2]
ἕκαστον αὐτῷ[3] παρατιθέντα . . . μεγαλείως δέ . . .

had laved their hands in the streams of Ocean,[a] a lovely boy entered and brought to them sweet unguent of orris-root; another, again, gave chaplets to all from left to right, which were intertwined with the rose and variously adorned.[b] And a bowl of the Bromian god was mixed, and Lesbian wine was drunk, man vying with man to drink the most of it. Anon the "second tables" were loaded to the full, and upon them were pears and luscious apples,[c] pomegranates and grapes, nurses of the Bromian god, and that freshly gathered grape which they call "vine-bower."[d] But of them I ate nothing at all, for I lay back, too full. Yet, when I saw the brown, sweet, mighty, round, well-grown child of Demeter enter, a baked flat-cake, how could I abstain from that divine flat-cake?[e] . . . But nay; not if I had ten hands and ten mouths,[f] belly that could not burst, and a heart of bronze within me. Then there entered two trick girls, *filles de joie*, driven like swift birds by Stratocles.[g]' "

Alexis, by way of ridiculing Attic dinners, says, in *Running-Mates*[h]: "I want to hire two cooks, the cleverest that I can find in all the town. For I intend to feast a man from Thessaly, not in any Attic fashion; and I must not stretch the gentleman on the rack of famine by stingily setting before him each little dish separately, but (I will serve it

[a] *Il.* xix. 1.
[b] *Od.* ix. 157.
[c] *Od.* ix. 217; *μῆλα*, when modified by *πίονα*, properly means "fat sheep," *cf.* Athen. 27 f.
[d] *Od.* v. 273.
[e] *Il.* x. 243.
[f] *Il.* ii. 490.
[g] *Il.* ii. 764.
[h] Kock ii. 375: the text and meaning are uncertain.

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[1] *ἁδρὸν* Jacobs: *ἄνδρες* AC.

[2] *λιμῷ με παρατεῖναι . . . καθ' ἓν* Herwerden: *λιμῷ παρελθεῖν ἃ δεῖ* AC.

[3] Herwerden: *αὐτοῖς* AC.

εὐτράπεζοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν ὄντως οἱ Θετταλοί, καθὰ καὶ Ἐριφός φησιν ἐν Πελταστῇ οὕτως·

τάδ᾽ οὐ Κόρινθος οὐδὲ Λαΐς, ὦ Σύρε,
οὐδ᾽ εὐτραπέζων Θετταλῶν ξένων τροφαί,
ὧν οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἥδε χεὶρ ἐγίνετο.

[illegible] ὁ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην ἀναφερομένους Πτωχοὺς ποιήσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φησίν, ὅταν τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἄριστον προτιθῶνται, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν τιθέναι "τυρὸν καὶ φυστὴν δρυπεπεῖς τ᾽ ἐλάας καὶ πράσα," ὑπόμνησιν ποιουμένους τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγωγῆς. Σόλων δὲ τοῖς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτουμένοις μᾶζαν παρέχειν κελεύει, ἄρτον δὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς προσπαρατιθέναι, μιμούμενος τὸν Ὅμηρον. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἀριστεῖς συνάγων πρὸς τὸν
f Ἀγαμέμνονα "φύρετο δ᾽ ἄλφιτα" φησίν. Χρύσιππός τ᾽ ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς φησιν· "ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἱστοροῦσιν οὐ πάνυ ἀρχαίων δυεῖν γινομένων δείπνων ἐν Λυκείῳ τε καὶ Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν εἰσενέγκαντος ὀψοποιοῦ λοπάδα πρὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ χρείαν τὸν κέραμον κατᾶξαι πάντα[1] τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς ὡς[2] οὐκ ἀστείας παρεισδύσεως γινομένης, δέοντος ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων τῶν[3] μακρόθεν· τὸν δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ κρέας ταριχηρὸν εἰς τάριχος διασκευάσαντα μαστιγωθῆναι ὡς παρασοφιζόμενον πονηρῶς."
138 Πλάτων δ᾽ ἐν β′ Πολιτείας οὕτως ἑστιᾷ τοὺς αὑτοῦ νεοπολίτας, γράφων· "ἄνευ ὄψου, ἔφη, ὡς ἔοικας,

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[1] Meineke: πάντας AC.
[2] After ὡς AC have μακρόθεν, deleted by Dindorf.
[3] τῶν added by Schweighäuser.

all together) in the grand style." Thessalians, on the other hand, do set really luxurious tables, as Eriphus declares in *The Peltast*[a] in these words: "Such dainties, O Syrian, not Corinth nor Laïs ever served, nor are they even the fare set on bounteous tables of Thessalian hosts, of which this hand of mine has often had its share." Whoever wrote *Beggars*, generally attributed to Chionides,[b] says that when the Athenians set before the Dioscuri a collation[c] in the town-hall, they place upon the tables "cheese and a barley-puff, ripe olives, and leeks," in memory of their ancient discipline. Solon prescribes that a barley-cake be served to all who dine at the town-hall, but that a wheat loaf may be added on feast days, thus following Homer. For the latter, when he gathers the nobles before Agamemnon, says that "barley-meal was mixed."[d] And so Chrysippus, in the fourth book of the treatise *On Pleasure and the Good* says: "It is recorded that at Athens two banquets of not very ancient date were celebrated in the Lyceum and in the Academy. Once, at the Academy feast, a fancy cook brought in a casserole intended for another use, whereupon the sacrificants broke the dish in pieces because an act of smuggling had been committed not tolerated by the city, it being obligatory to abstain from such far-fetched importations. At the Lyceum, again, the cook who had brought in some salt meat which he had made over in imitation of salt-fish was flogged for playing the impostor with his over-refinement." And Plato, in the second book of the *Republic*,[e] thus portrays his new citizens at dinner when he writes: "'It

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[a] Light-armed infantry-man. Kock ii. 430.

[b] Kock i. 5.

[c] See 82 e, note *c*, 237 e.

[d] Not in the *Iliad*.

[e] 372 c.

ποιεῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑστιωμένους. ἀληθῆ, ἦν δ᾿ ἐγώ, λέγεις· ἐπελαθόμην ὅτι καὶ ὄψον ἕξουσιν, ἅλας τε δηλονότι καὶ ἐλαίας καὶ τυρόν, καὶ βολβοὺς καὶ λάχανά γε, οἷα δὴ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἑψήματα,[1] ἑψήσονται. καὶ τραγήματά που παραθήσομεν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε σύκων καὶ ἐρεβίνθων καὶ κυάμων, καὶ μύρτα καὶ φηγοὺς σποδιοῦσι πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, μετρίως ὑπο-
b πίνοντες. καὶ οὕτως διάγοντες τὸν βίον ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ὑγιείας, ὡς εἰκός, γηραιοὶ τελευτῶντες ἄλλον τοιοῦτον βίον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδώσουσιν."

Ἑξῆς δὲ λεκτέον καὶ περὶ τῶν Λακωνικῶν συμποσίων. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν περὶ τῆς Μαρδονίου παρασκευῆς λέγων καὶ μνημονεύσας Λακωνικῶν συμποσίων φησί· "Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν παρασκευὴν κατέλιπε τὴν αὑτοῦ. Παυσανίαν οὖν ἰδόντα
c τὴν τοῦ Μαρδονίου παρασκευὴν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις κατεσκευασμένην κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἀρτοποιοὺς καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάσαι. ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ κελευσθέντα τὸν Παυσανίαν ἰδόντα κλίνας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπῆ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ διακόνοις παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. καὶ παρασκευασθέντος γελάσας ὁ Παυσανίας μετεπέμψατο τῶν
d Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἐλθόντων ἐπιδείξας ἑκατέρου τῶν δείπνων τὴν παρασκευὴν εἶπεν· 'ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, συνήγαγον ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος

[1] After ἑψήματα A adds τε, not in C nor in Plato.

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[a] Chap. 82; *cf.* Athen. 150 c.

would appear,' he said, 'that you represent your men as feasting without any relish.' 'Quite true,' I said; 'I forgot that they will have a relish also, such as salt, of course, and olives, and cheese; and they will cook bulbs and green vegetables, the sort of which they make boiled dishes in the country. And we will set before them dessert, I suppose, figs and chick-peas and beans, and they will toast myrtle-berries and beech-nuts before the fire, sipping their wine in moderation the while. Thus will they spend their lives, peacefully and healthily, and in all probability will die in old age and transmit a similar mode of life to their offspring.'"

Next we must speak also of Spartan symposia. Now Herodotus, in the ninth book of his *Histories*,[a] speaking of Mardonius's tent and mentioning by the way the Spartan banquets, says: "When Xerxes fled from Greece he left behind the royal pavilion[b] for Mardonius. Pausanias, therefore, when he saw the tent of Mardonius adorned with gold and silver and embroidered tapestries, commanded the bakers and fancy cooks to prepare a dinner exactly as they would for Mardonius. When they had done his bidding, Pausanias, seeing the gold and silver divans spread with coverings, and silver tables and a magnificent outlay for the dinner, in amazement at what was set before him, ordered in jest his own servants to prepare a Spartan dinner. And when it was ready, Pausanias laughed and sent for the Greek generals. On their arrival he pointed to the preparations made for each of the dinners and said: 'Men of Greece, I have gathered you together because I

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[b] In imitation of which the Athenians built the Odeon, Paus. i. 20. 3.

ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην, ὃς τοιαύτην δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθεν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὕτω ταλαίπωρον ἔχοντας.' φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἄνδρα Συβαρίτην ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Σπάρτῃ καὶ συνεστιαθέντα ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις εἰπεῖν· 'εἰκότως ἀνδρειότατοι ἁπάντων εἰσὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἕλοιτο γὰρ ἄν[1] τις εὖ φρονῶν μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ οὕτως εὐτελοῦς διαίτης μεταλαβεῖν.'"

e Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι κανάθρῳ τοῦ παρὰ Λάκωσι καλουμένου δείπνου κοπίδος μνημονεύοντα Κρατῖνον ἐν Πλούτοις λέγειν·

ἆρ' ἀληθῶς τοῖς ξένοισιν ἔστιν, ὡς λέγουσ', ἐκεῖ
πᾶσι τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ κοπίδι θοινᾶσθαι καλῶς,
ἐν δὲ ταῖς λέσχαισι φῦσκαι προσπεπατταλευμέναι
κατακρέμανται τοῖσι πρεσβύταισιν ἀποδάκνειν
ὀδάξ;

καὶ Εὔπολις ἐν Εἵλωσι·

f καὶ γένηται τοῖσδε σάμερον κοπίς.

Δεῖπνον δ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ἔχον ἡ κοπίς, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον ἄικλον. ἐπὴν δὲ κοπίζωσι, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ σκηνὰς ποιοῦνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ἐν δὲ ταύταις στιβάδας ἐξ ὕλης, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων δάπιδας ὑποστρωννύουσιν, ἐφ' αἷς τοὺς κατακλιθέντας εὐωχοῦσιν οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς ἀφικνουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδημήσαντας τῶν ξένων. θύουσι δ' ἐν ταῖς κοπίσιν αἶγας, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν

[1] ἄν added by Dindorf.

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[a] Frag. 86 Preller. [b] *Agesilaus* 8. 7. [c] Kock i. 63.

[d] Kock i. 294. The verb is in a dependent clause, perhaps beginning with "if."

wish to show you the folly of the Median commander who, with all his luxury of living, came to attack us who are so poor.' And some say that a Sybarite who had sojourned in Sparta and had been entertained among them at their public mess remarked: 'It is no wonder that Spartans are the bravest men in the world; for anyone in his right mind would prefer to die ten thousand times rather than share in such poor living.'"

Polemon,[a] commenting on the wicker carriage mentioned in Xenophon,[b] cites Cratinus as mentioning in *The Plutuses* [c] the feast at Sparta which is called *Kopis* ("Cleaver"). He says: "Is it then true, as they say, that yonder in Sparta all strangers who arrive are richly feasted at the Cleaver, and that in the public lounges sausages hang nailed to the walls for the old men to bite off with their teeth?" And Eupolis in *The Helots* [d]: ". . . and the Cleaver be celebrated in honour of these men to-day."

The Cleaver is a dinner of a special sort, as is also that which is called the *aiklon*. Whenever they celebrate the Cleaver they first cause to be constructed booths beside the temple of the god,[e] and in them they place rough couches of wood; upon these they spread rugs, on which they hospitably entertain all who have placed themselves in a reclining posture there—not merely persons who arrive from our [f] country, but also any foreigners who have come to town. At the Cleaver they sacrifice goats, but no other victim of any kind; and

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[e] Possibly Apollo of Amyclae.

[f] The pronoun shows that Polemon, who came from the Troad, is no longer the authority; but the quotation is resumed immediately.

ἱερεῖον· καὶ τῶν κρεῶν διδόασι μοίρας πᾶσι καὶ τὸν
139 καλούμενον φυσίκιλλον, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρτίσκος ἐγκρίδι παραπλήσιος, γογγυλώτερος δὲ τὴν ἰδέαν. διδόασι τῶν συνιόντων ἑκάστῳ τυρὸν χλωρὸν καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ φύσκης τόμον καὶ τραγήματα σῦκά τε ξηρὰ καὶ κυάμους καὶ φασήλους χλωρούς. κοπίζει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ βουλόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει κοπίδας ἄγουσι καὶ τοῖς Τιθηνιδίοις καλουμένοις ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων· κομίζουσι γὰρ αἱ τιτθαὶ τὰ ἄρρενα παιδία κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ἀγρόν,
b καὶ[1] πρὸς τὴν Κορυθαλίαν καλουμένην Ἄρτεμιν, ἧς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην Τίασσόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Κλήταν μέρεσι, τὰς κοπίδας παραπλησίως ταῖς λελεγμέναις ἐπιτελοῦσι. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γαλαθηνοὺς ὀρθαγορίσκους καὶ παρατιθέασιν ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ τοὺς ἰπνίτας ἄρτους.

Ὅτι ἄικλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων καλεῖται τὸ δεῖπνον.[2] Ἐπίχαρμος γοῦν ἐν Ἐλπίδι φησίν·

ἐκάλεσε γάρ τύ τις
ἐπ' αἶκλον ἀέκων,[3] τὺ δὲ ἑκὼν ᾤχεο τρέχων.

c τὰ αὐτὰ εἴρηκε καὶ ἐν Περιάλλῳ. "ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον μετὰ δεῖπνον τὸ καλούμενον ἄικλον εἰσφέρουσιν ἄρτους ἐν ἀρριχίδι καὶ κρέας ἑκάστῳ, καὶ τῷ νέμοντι τὰς μοίρας ἀκολουθῶν ὁ διάκονος κηρύττει τὸ ἄικλον προστιθεὶς τοῦ πέμψαντος τὴν ὀνομασίαν."

[1] καὶ omitted by C, deleted by Kaibel, who reads καὶ ταύτας after μέρεσι.

[2] ὅτι ἄικλον ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων καλεῖται τὸ δεῖπνον C: τὸ δὲ ἄικλον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων καλεῖται δεῖπνον A.

[3] ἀέκων Wilamowitz: ἑκὼν A.

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[a] Since the speaker has just referred to Rome in τῆς

of the meat they give portions to all, also the cake called *physikillos*,[a] which is a small cake like the *enkris* (" honey-cake "), but rounder in shape. They give to all who come together there a green cheese, a slice of paunch and sausage, and dessert consisting of dried figs, dried beans, and green beans. Any one among the Spartiates, besides, who wishes to do so may take part in the Cleaver. They celebrate the Cleaver in town; they also celebrate the Nurse Festival, called *Tithenidia*, for the children. In this the nurses take the male children at the time of the Cleaver into the country, and there, before the image of Artemis Korythalia, as she is called, whose temple is beside the fountain of Tiassus, in the region toward Cleta, they celebrate the Cleaver in the same way as for those first mentioned. They also sacrifice sucking-pigs, and at the festival banquet they serve the oven-bread mentioned before.[b]

By the other Dorians the chief meal is called *aiklon*. Epicharmus, at any rate, says in his *Hope* [c]: " For someone unwillingly invited you to dinner (*aiklon*), but you made off to it on the run quite willingly." He has the same also in *Periallus*. " But in Sparta the so-called *aiklon* comes after the dinner; they serve it to those who are admitted to the mess, being bread loaves in baskets and a piece of meat for each. The attendant who accompanies the distributer of the meat announces the *aiklon*, adding the name of the donor."

ἡμεδαπῆς, it is probable that φυσίκιλλος is Latin, not Laconian, quasi *fissiculus*, a small roll cleft in the middle; *cf.* φούλλικλον, *folliculus*, 14 f.

[b] See 109 c, 115 e.

[c] Kaibel 97, 111, Diels 223.

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πολέμων· πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων
Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς—καλεῖ δὲ τοῦτον Δημήτριος
ὁ Τροιζήνιος βιβλιολάθαν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν
ἐκδέδωκε συγγραμμάτων· ἐστὶ γὰρ τρισχίλια πρὸς
d τοῖς πεντακοσίοις—φησὶ τάδε· "Πολυκράτης," φησί,
"ἐν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἱστορεῖ ὅτι τὴν μὲν τῶν Ὑακινθίων
θυσίαν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι
καὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γινόμενον[1] περὶ τὸν
Ὑάκινθον οὔτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῖς δείπνοις οὔτε
ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσιν οὔτε[2] ἄλλα πέμματα καὶ τὰ
τούτοις ἀκόλουθα διδόασι καὶ τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν
παιᾶνα οὐκ ᾄδουσιν οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον εἰσάγουσιν
οὐδὲν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποιοῦσιν,
ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται.
τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται
θέα ποικίλη καὶ πανήγυρις ἀξιόλογος καὶ μεγάλη·
e παῖδές τε γὰρ κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοις
καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες πάσας ἅμα τῷ
πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ μὲν
ἀναπαίστῳ, μετ' ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ᾄδουσιν·
ἄλλοι δ' ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένων τὸ θέατρον
διεξέρχονται· χοροί τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς
εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων
ᾄδουσιν, ὀρχησταί τε ἐν τούτοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τὴν
κίνησιν ἀρχαικὴν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν
f ποιοῦνται. τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κανάθρων[3]
φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένων, αἱ δ' ἐφ'
ἁμίλλαις ἁρμάτων ἐζευγμένων πομπεύουσιν, ἅπασα

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[1] Gulick: γενόμενον AC.

[2] οὔτε added by Schweighäuser.

[3] AC have καμαρωτῶν ξυλίνων ἁρμάτων, "covered wooden chariots," a gloss deleted by Dobree.

Thus Polemon; but he is contradicted by Didymus the grammarian (whom Demetrius of Troezen calls the "book-forgetter" because of the number of treatises—three thousand five hundred—which he has published). Didymus says: "Polycrates relates in his *History of Sparta* [a] that the Spartans observe the ritual of the Hyacinthia for a period of three days, and because of the mourning which takes place for the death of Hyacinthus they neither wear crowns at the meals nor introduce wheat bread, nor do they dispense any cakes, with their accompaniments, and they abstain from singing the paean to the god,[b] and do not introduce anything else of the sort that they do at other festivals. On the contrary, they eat with great restraint, and then depart. But in the middle of the three-day period there is held a spectacle with many features, and a remarkable concourse gathers which is largely attended. Boys with tunics girded high play the lyre or sing to flute accompaniment while they run the entire gamut of the strings with the plectrum; they sing the praises of the god in anapaestic rhythm and in a high pitch. Others march through the theatre mounted on gaily adorned horses; full choirs of young men enter and sing some of their national songs, and dancers mingling among them go through the figures in the ancient style, accompanied by the flute and the voice of the singers. As for the girls, some are carried in wicker carts which are sumptuously ornamented, others parade in chariots yoked to two horses, which they race, and the entire city is

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 480.

[b] Apollo.

δ’ ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν. ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους· οὐδεὶς δ’ ἀπολείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θέαν.

140 Τῆς δὲ κοπίδος μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ Φιλύλλιος ἐν ταῖς Πόλεσιν, Ἐπίλυκός τε ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ λέγων οὕτως·

> ποττὰν κοπίδ’, οἰῶ, σώμαι
> ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖον[1] παρ’ Ἀπέλλω,
> εἶ[2] βαράκες πολλαὶ[3] κἄρτοι
> καὶ δωμός[4] τοι μάλα ἁδύς,

διαρρήδην λέγων μάζας ἐν ταῖς κοπίσι παρατίθεσθαι—τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ βάρακες δηλοῦσιν, οὐχὶ τολύπας, ὥς φησι Λυκόφρων, ἢ τὰ προφυράματα τῶν μαζῶν, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης—καὶ ἄρτους δὲ καὶ ζωμόν τινα καθηδυσμένον περιττῶς. τίς δέ ἐστιν ἡ κοπὶς σαφῶς ἐκτίθεται Μόλπις ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως· ‘ποιοῦσι b δὲ καὶ τὰς καλουμένας κοπίδας· ἐστὶν δ’ ἡ κοπὶς δεῖπνον, μᾶζα, ἄρτος, κρέας, λάχανον ὠμόν, ζωμός, σῦκον, τράγημα, θέρμος.’ ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ’ ὀρθαγορίσκοι λέγονται, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πολέμων, οἱ γαλαθηνοὶ χοῖροι, ἀλλ’ ὀρθραγορίσκοι, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄρθρον πιπράσκονται, ὡς Περσαῖος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης ἐν β′ πολιτείας καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ

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[1] οἰῶ, σώμαι ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖσιν Ahrens (after Bergk), ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖον Gulick: οιωσωμ’ αἰὲν ἀμυκλαῖον A.

[2] παρ’ Ἀπέλλω Ahrens, εἶ Kaibel: παραγγέλλωσι A.

[3] πολλαὶ Kaibel: πολλὰ οἱ A. [4] δωμός Dindorf: δωδεμος A.

given over to the bustle and joy of the festival. On that day they sacrifice very many victims, and the citizens entertain at dinner all their acquaintances and their own servants as well. Not one misses the festival; on the contrary, it so happens that the city is emptied to see the spectacle.

"The Cleaver festival is mentioned also by Aristophanes or Philyllius in *The Island Towns*,[a] and by Epilycus in *Coraliscus*,[b] who says: 'To the Cleaver methinks I'll go, to Apollo's kirk at Amyclae, where are tall barley-cakes, fu' many, and wheaten loaves, and a broth that is bonny.' Thus he expressly says that barley-cakes are served at the Cleavers. For that is what 'tall barley-cakes' (*barakes*) means—not 'dumplings' (*tolypae*), as Lycophron asserts, nor the bits of barley-cakes in the first kneading, as Eratosthenes says[c]; further, there were wheat-loaves and a broth of some kind, extraordinarily well seasoned. What the Cleaver really is is plainly set forth by Molpis in his *Lacedaemonian State*. He writes as follows:[d] 'They also celebrate the so-called Cleavers. This is a dinner consisting of barley-cake, wheat loaf, meat, uncooked greens, broth, fig, nut, and lupine.' What is more, the sucking-pigs sacrificed are not called *orthagorisci*, as Polemon maintains, but *orthragorisci*, because they are offered for sale at dawn (*orthros*), as Persaeus in his *Spartan State*[e] and Dioscurides in the second book of the *State*[f] assert, to whom may be added also

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[a] Kock i. 786.
[b] Kock i. 803.
[c] Frag. 26 Streck.
[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 453.
[e] *Ibid.* ii. 623. The last part of the word is here connected with ἀγοράζεται, "is marketed."
[f] *Ibid.* ii. 192.

c καὶ οὗτος τῆς Λακώνων πολιτείας. ἔτι φησὶν ὁ Πολέμων καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄικλον προσαγορεύεσθαι, παραπλησίως ἁπάντων Δωριέων οὕτως αὐτὸ καλούντων. Ἀλκμὰν μὲν γὰρ οὕτω φησί·

> κῆπὶ τᾷ μύλᾳ δρυφῆται κῆπὶ ταῖς συναικλίαις,

οὕτω τὰ συνδείπνια καλῶν. καὶ πάλιν· ‘ἄικλον Ἀλκμάων ἁρμόξατο.’ ἄικλον δ᾽ οὐ λέγουσιν οἱ Λάκωνες τὴν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον μοῖραν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰ διδόμενα τοῖς φιδίταις μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἄρτος γάρ ἐστι καὶ κρέας. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπάικλα μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα, ὄντα οἷον ἐπιχορηγήματα τοῦ συντεταγ-
d μένου τοῖς φιδίταις ἀίκλου· παρὰ γὰρ τοῦτο οἶμαι τὴν φωνὴν πεποιῆσθαι. καί ἐστιν ἡ παρασκευὴ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπαίκλων οὐχ ἁπλῆ, καθάπερ ὁ Πολέμων ὑπείληφεν, ἀλλὰ διττή· ἣν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς παισὶ[1] παρέχουσι πάνυ τις εὔκολός ἐστι καὶ εὐτελής. ἄλφιτα γάρ ἐστιν ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένα, ἅ φησι Νικοκλῆς ὁ Λάκων κάπτειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν φύλλοις δάφνης, παρὸ καὶ καμματίδας μὲν προσαγορεύεσθαι τὰ φύλλα, αὐτὰ
e δὲ τὰ ψαιστὰ κάμματα. ὅτι δὲ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς πάλαι καὶ φύλλα δάφνης τραγηματίζεσθαι Καλλίας ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Κύκλωψί φησιν οὕτως·

> φυλλὰς ἡ δείπνων κατάλυσις ἥδε καθάπερ σχημάτων.

ἣν δ᾽ εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φιδίτια κομίζουσι, σκευοποιεῖται ἔκ τινων ζῴων ὡρισμένων, παραχορη-

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[1] παισὶ Basle edition: πᾶσι A.

Aristocles, who says the same in the first of his two books on the *State of the Spartans*.[a] Further, Polemon says that the chief meal is called *aiklon* by the Spartans, all Dorians alike calling it the same. For Alcman, at any rate, has it thus:[b] 'Whether he is at the mill or at the company mess (*synaikliai*), he tears his hair,' calling by this name the meals shared together. And again:[c] 'Alcmaon hath made ready the meal (*aiklon*).' Spartans do not say 'aiklon' for the portion following dinner; and what is more, the word as they use it does not signify the doles given to messmates after the dinner; for it means bread and meat. These, on the contrary, are called *epaikla*, being, as it were, additional viands served to messmates after the regular *aiklon*, or meal. It is from this, I fancy, that the word *epaiklon* is formed. Moreover, what is prepared for the so-called *epaikla* is not uniform, as Polemon assumes, but is of two sorts: that, namely, which they give to the boys is very simple and frugal, being merely barley-meal soaked in oil, which the Spartan Nicocles says[d] they greedily gulp down (*kapto*) after dinner on laurel leaves, whence, he says, the leaves are called *kammatides*, but the meal-cakes themselves are called *kammata*.[e] And that it was a practice among the men of long ago even to munch laurel leaves as a dessert is shown by Callias (or Diocles), who says, in *The Cyclopians*[f]: 'Here comes the dish of leaves, which means an end to our dinners and our dances as well.' But that which they bring in for the men's mess is prepared from certain definite

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 464.
[b] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 70.
[c] *Ibid.* 71.
[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 464.
[e] *Cf.* Eng. "snack," of a small luncheon hastily eaten.
[f] Kock i. 694.

γοῦντος αὐτὰ τοῖς φιδίταις ἑνὸς τῶν εὐπορούντων ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε δὲ καὶ πλειόνων.

Ὁ δὲ Μόλπις καὶ ματτύην φησὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι τὰ ἐπάικλα. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπαίκλων Περσαῖος ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ οὑτωσὶ γράφει· ‘καὶ εὐθὺς f τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ζημιοῖ εἰς ἐπάικλα· ταῦτα δε ἐστιν μετὰ δεῖπνον τραγήματα· τοῖς δ᾽ ἀπόροις ἐπιτάττει κάλαμον ἢ στιβάδα ἢ φύλλα δάφνης φέρειν, ὅπως ἔχωσι τὰ ἐπάικλα κάπτειν μετὰ δεῖπνον· γίνεται γὰρ ἄλφιτα ἐλαίῳ ἐρραμένα. τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον ὥσπερ πολίτευμά τι τοῦτο δὴ συνίσταται μικρόν. καὶ γὰρ ὅντινα δεῖ πρῶτον κατακεῖσθαι ἢ δεύτερον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιμποδίου καθῆσθαι, πάντα τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν εἰς ἐπάικλα.’ 141 τὰ ὅμοια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης. περὶ δὲ τῶν καμματίδων καὶ τῶν καμμάτων Νικοκλῆς οὕτως γράφει· ‘διακούσας δε πάντων ὁ ἔφορος ἤτοι ἀπέλυσεν ἢ κατεδίκασεν. ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἐζημίωσεν ἐλαφρῶς ἤτοι κάμμασιν ἢ καμματίσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν κάμματα ψαιστά, αἱ δὲ καμματίδες αἷς κάπτουσι τὰ ψαιστά.’

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν φιδιτίων[1] δείπνου Δικαίαρχος τάδε ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τριπολιτικῷ· ‘τὸ δεῖπνον πρῶτον μὲν ἑκάστῳ χωρὶς b παρατιθέμενον καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον· εἶτα μᾶζαν μὲν ὅσην ἂν ἕκαστος ᾖ βουλόμενος, καὶ πιεῖν πάλιν ὅταν ᾖ θυμὸς ἑκάστῳ

[1] φιδιτίων edd.: φειδιτίων A, perhaps by a popular etymology connected with φείδομαι, "be parsimonious."

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[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 623.

[b] The Ephor.

[c] For cakes strung on poles, as in Greece to-day, *cf.* Plato, *Rep.* 372 B.

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 464.

[e] *Ibid.* ii. 242; the title apparently refers to a theory

animals, which are given as a present to messmates by one, sometimes even several, among the rich members.

"Molpis says that these after-dishes are also called *mattye*. Concerning them Persaeus, in *The Spartan State*,[a] writes as follows: 'And immediately he assesses the well-to-do in a sum sufficient to pay for the *epaikla*; these are desserts following the chief meal. But from the poor he[b] requires a contribution of a reed or rush[c] or laurel leaves, so that they may be able to gulp down their *epaikla* after dinner. These consist of barley-cakes mixed with oil. The whole proceeding, trifling to be sure, has become an act of governmental administration. Whoever is appointed to take the first or the second place on the couch, or to sit upon the bed, must in all cases do the same at the *epaikla*.' A similar account is given by Dioscurides. Concerning the laurel leaves and the food served on them Nicocles[d] writes thus: 'The Ephor heard the cases of all and either acquitted or condemned them. The victor levies a light fine consisting of meal cakes (*kammata*) or laurel leaves (*kammatides*) to serve them on. These *kammata* are cakes, while the *kammatides* are the leaves with which they gulp them down.'

"Concerning the dinner eaten by the members of the mess, Dicaearchus records the following in the work entitled *Tri-Statesman*[e]: 'The dinner is at first served separately to each member, and there is no sharing of any kind with one's neighbour. Afterwards there is a barley-cake as large as each desires, and for drinking, again, a cup is set beside him to

of the state which sought to combine the best features of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.

κώθων[1] παρακείμενός ἐστιν. ὄψον δὲ ταὐτὸν
ἀεί ποτε πᾶσίν ἐστιν, ὕειον κρέας ἑφθόν, ἐνίοτε
δ' οὐδ' ὁτιμενοῦν[2] πλὴν ὄψον τι μικρὸν ἔχον
σταθμὸν ὡς τέταρτον μάλιστα, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο
ἕτερον οὐδὲν πλὴν ὅ γε ἀπὸ τούτων ζωμὸς ἱκανὸς
ὢν παρὰ πᾶν τὸ δεῖπνον ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς παραπέμπειν,
κἂν ἄρα ἐλάα τις ἢ τυρὸς ἢ σῦκον, ἀλλὰ
κἄν τι λάβωσιν ἐπιδόσιμον, ἰχθὺν ἢ λαγὼν ἢ
c φάτταν ἤ τι τοιοῦτον. εἶτ' ὀξέως ἤδη δεδειπνηκόσιν
ὕστερα περιφέρεται ταῦτα τὰ ἐπάικλα
καλούμενα. συμφέρει δ' ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον
ἀλφίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιμέδιμνα Ἀττικά,
οἴνου δὲ χοεῖς ἕνδεκά τινας ἢ δώδεκα, παρὰ δὲ
ταῦτα τυροῦ σταθμόν τινα καὶ σύκων, ἔτι δὲ εἰς
ὀψωνίαν περὶ δέκα τινὰς Αἰγιναίους ὀβολούς.'
Σφαῖρος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας γράφει·
'φέρουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπάικλα αὐτοῖς οἱ φιδίται· καὶ
τῶν μὲν ἀγρευομένων ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνίοτε οἱ πολλοί,
d οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἵ γε πλούσιοι καὶ ἄρτον καὶ ὧν ἂν
ὥρα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὅσον εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν συνουσίαν,
νομίζοντες καὶ τὸ[3] πλείονα τῶν ἱκανῶν παρασκευάζειν
περιττὸν εἶναι, μὴ μέλλοντά γε προσφέρεσθαι.'
Μόλπις δέ φησι· 'μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον
εἴωθεν ἀεί τι παρά τινος κομίζεσθαι, ἐνίοτε δὲ
καὶ παρὰ πλειόνων, παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' οἶκον ἠρτυμένη[4]
ματτύη,[5] ὃ καλοῦσιν ἐπάικλον. τῶν δὲ

[1] *κώθων* Casaubon: *καθ' ὧν* A.
[2] *δ' οὐδ' ὁτιμενοῦν* Schweighäuser: *δε τι μονον* A.
[3] *τὸ* Casaubon: *τὰ* A.
[4] *ἠρτυμένη* Casaubon: *ἠρτυμένα* A, *ἠρτυμένην* C.
[5] *ματτύη* Casaubon: *ματτύην* AC.

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[a] The Attic medimnus equals about 1½ bushels.

use whenever he is thirsty. The same meat dish is given to all on every occasion, a piece of boiled pork; sometimes, however, not even so much as that is served, beyond a small bit of meat weighing not over a quarter of a pound. Besides this there is nothing whatsoever, except, of course the broth made from this meat, enough to go round among the entire company throughout the whole dinner; there may possibly be an olive or a cheese or a fig, or they may even get something especially added, a fish or a hare or a ring-dove or something similar. Afterwards, when they have finished their dinner in haste, there are passed round these so-called *epaikla*. Each member contributes to the mess about three half-medimni of barley, Attic measure,[a] and perhaps eleven or twelve pitchers[b] of wine; besides this, a certain weight of cheese and figs, and further, to procure the meat, about ten Aeginetan obols.' And Sphaerus, in the third book of his *Spartan State*,[c] writes: 'The members of the mess also contribute *epaikla* to them. Sometimes the common people bring whatever is caught in the chase; but the rich contribute wheat bread and anything from the fields which the season permits, in quantities sufficient for the one meeting alone, because they believe that to provide more than is enough is uncalled for, if the food is not going to be eaten.' And Molpis[d] says: 'Following the meal, it is customary always for something to be provided by some person, sometimes even by several persons, a dish (*mattye*) prepared in their own homes, and called *epaiklon*. No one is in the habit of contributing

[b] Each pitcher contained nearly six pints.

[c] *F.H.G.* iii. 20.

[d] *Ibid.* iv. 453.

κομιζομένων οὐδεὶς οὐθὲν ἀγοράσας εἴωθεν φέρειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδονῆς οὐδ' ἀκρασίας γαστρὸς οὕνεκεν κομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὑτῶν ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς e κατὰ τὴν θήραν ποιούμενοι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ποίμνια αὐτῶν τρέφοντες ἀφθόνως μεταδιδόασι τῶν ἐκγόνων. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ ματτύα φάτται, χῆνες, τρυγόνες, κίχλαι, κόσσυφοι, λαγῴ, ἄρνες, ἔριφοι. οἱ δὲ μάγειροι σημαίνουσι τοὺς ἀεί τι κομίζοντας εἰς μέσον, ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι[1] τὴν τῆς θήρας φιλοπονίαν καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκτένειαν.'

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῷ α' τοῦ Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου τὴν τῶν Καρνείων φησὶν ἑορτὴν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μίμημα εἶναι στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς. f τόπους μὲν γὰρ εἶναι θ' τῷ ἀριθμῷ, σκιάδες δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται σκηναῖς ἔχοντες παραπλήσιόν τι· καὶ ἐννέα καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρες δειπνοῦσι, πάντα τε ἀπὸ προστάγματος κηρύσσεται,[2] ἔχει τε ἑκάστη σκιὰς φρατρίας τρεῖς καὶ γίνεται ἡ τῶν Καρνείων ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας θ'.

Τὴν δὲ τῆς διαίτης τῆς τοιαύτης σκληρότητα ὕστερον καταλύσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἐξώκειλαν εἰς τρυφήν. Φύλαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῇ ε'[3] καὶ κ' τῶν ἱστοριῶν τάδε γράφει περὶ αὐτῶν· "Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς μὲν τὰ φιδίτια οὐκ ἤρχοντο κατὰ τὸ πάτριον 142 ἔθος· ὅτε δὲ καὶ παραγένοιντο, μικρὰ συμπεριενεχθεῖσι νόμου[4] χάριν παρεσκευάζετο καὶ σκιάδεια[5] αὐτοῖς στρωμναί τε τοῖς μεγέθεσιν οὕτως ἐξησκη-

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[1] εἰδῶσι Kaibel: ἴδωσι AC.

[2] προστάγματος A, προσταγμάτων C, κηρύσσεται AC: κηρύγματος πράσσεται Kaibel.

[3] ε' Brueckner: ιε A.

[4] συμπεριενεχθεῖσι νόμου Casaubon: συμπεριενεχθεῖσιν ὁμοῦ A.

[5] σκιάδεια Kaibel: πάλιν AC.

anything which he has bought by purchase in the market, for they contribute, not to satisfy their pleasure or the greed of the stomach, but to give evidence of their own prowess in the hunt. Many of them, too, who keep flocks, give a liberal share of the offspring. And so the *mattya* may consist of ring-doves, geese, turtle-doves, thrushes, blackbirds, hares, lambs, and kids. The cooks announce to the company the names of those who bring in anything for the occasion, in order that all may realize the labour spent upon the chase and the zeal manifested for themselves.'

"Demetrius of Scepsis, in Book i. of *The Trojan Battle-order*,[a] says that the festival of the Karneia at Sparta is a representation of their military discipline. There are, namely, places numbering nine, which they call 'sunshades' because they bear some likeness to tents; and nine men eat in each, and a herald proclaims everything by order. Each 'shade,' moreover, holds three brotherhoods, and the festival of the Karneia is held for nine days." [b]

But the Spartans afterwards desisted from the austerity of such a mode of living and degenerated into luxury. Phylarchus, at any rate, in the twenty-fifth book of his *Histories*,[c] writes of them: "The Spartans desisted from going to the common mess in the traditional fashion; when they did go, the booths which were set up for those who resorted thither, in obedience to the law, were small, and the couch-coverings prepared for them were so

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[a] Frag. 1 Gaede.

[b] Here ends, apparently, the quotation from Didymus, begun at 139 d.

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 346; by "Spartans" are meant the Spartan kings, *cf.* Plutarch, *Cleom.* 13.

μέναι πολυτελῶς καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ διαφόρως ὥστε
τῶν ξένων ἐνίους τῶν παραληφθέντων ὀκνεῖν τὸν
ἀγκῶνα ἐπὶ τὰ προσκεφάλαια ἐρείδειν. οἱ δὲ
πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ κλιντηρίου ψιλοῦ διακαρτεροῦντες[1]
παρ' ὅλην τὴν συνουσίαν, ὅτε τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἅπαξ
ἐρείσειαν . . .[2] εἰς δὲ τὴν προειρημένην τρυφὴν
ἦλθον ποτηρίων τ' ἐκθέσεις πολλῶν καὶ βρωμάτων
b παντοδαπῶς πεποιημένων παραθέσεις, ἔτι δὲ μύρων
ἐξηλλαγμένων, ὡς δ' αὔτως οἴνων καὶ τραγημάτων.
καὶ τούτων ἦρξαν οἱ μικρὸν πρὸ Κλεομένους βασιλεύσαντες
Ἄρευς καὶ Ἀκρότατος αὐλικὴν ἐξουσίαν
ζηλώσαντες· οὓς τοσοῦτον αὖθις ὑπερῆράν τινες
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων κατ' ἐκεῖνον
τὸν χρόνον τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ καθ' αὑτούς, ὥστε
δοκεῖν τὸν Ἄρεα καὶ τὸν Ἀκρότατον εὐτελείᾳ
πάντας ὑπερβεβληκέναι τοὺς ἀφελεστάτους τῶν
πρότερον.

Κλεομένης δὲ πολὺ διενέγκας τῷ τε συνιδεῖν
πράγματα, καίτοι νέος ὤν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν
c ἀφελέστατος γέγονεν. ἤδη γὰρ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων
ἡγούμενος ἔμφασιν τοῖς παραλαμβανομένοις
πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐποίει διότι τὰ παρὰ ἐκείνοις τῶν
παρ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν καταδεέστερον εἴη παρασκευαζόμενα.
πολλῶν δὲ πρεσβειῶν παραγινομένων πρὸς
αὐτὸν οὐδέποτε ἐνωρίστερον τοῦ κατειθισμένου
συνῆγεν καιροῦ, πεντακλίνου τε διεστρώννυτο
οὐδέποτε πλεῖον· ὅτε δὲ μὴ παρείη πρεσβεία,
τρίκλινον. καὶ πρόσταγμα οὐκ ἐγίνετο δι' ἐδεάτρου
d τίς εἴσεται καὶ κατακλιθήσεται πρῶτος, ἀλλ' ὁ

[1] AC add the gloss τῆς κλίνης, deleted by Wilamowitz.
[2] The verb is wanting.

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[a] Cleomenes III (272–220) became king *ca.* 235 B.C.

generous in size and so richly adorned with embroidery that some of the strangers who were invited hesitated to press their elbows against the cushions. In the old days, once they had rested their arms upon the couch, which was quite bare, they endured the rigour of it as long as the assembly lasted; now, however, they have relaxed in the luxury just mentioned, indulging in the display of many cups, and in the service of food dressed in every variety, and what is more, rare unguents and wines and desserts likewise. And these practices, in imitation of the regal court of Persia, were begun by Areus and Acrotatus, who reigned a little while before Cleomenes [a]; yet even they in their turn were so far outdone in their own magnificence by certain private citizens of their generation in Sparta, that Areus and Acrotatus seemed to surpass in frugality all the men of earlier times, no matter how simple these may have been.

"Cleomenes, however, who greatly excelled other men in his understanding of affairs, in spite of his youth, also grew to be most simple in his mode of life. For though he was by this time at the head of affairs of great importance, he made it plain to all whom he invited to a sacrificial feast that the arrangements which they made in their own houses were in no wise inferior to his. Although many embassies were received in audience before him, he never assembled them for dinner earlier than the customary time, and never caused more than five couches to be spread with coverings; when no embassy was present, he had only three couches prepared. And no directions were given by a seneschal concerning who should sit or recline first; on the contrary, the

πρεσβύτατος ἡγεῖτο ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας, εἰ μή τιν᾽ αὐτὸς προσκαλέσαιτο. κατελαμβάνετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κατακείμενος ἢ μετά τινος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν. ἐπί τε τῷ τρίποδι ψυκτὴρ χαλκοῦς ἐπέκειτο καὶ κάδος καὶ σκαφίον ἀργυροῦν δύο κοτύλας χωροῦν καὶ κύαθος, ἡ δ᾽ ἐπίχυσις χαλκῆ. πιεῖν δὲ οὐ προσεφέρετο εἰ μή τις αἰτήσειεν· ἐδίδοτο[1] δὲ κύαθος εἷς πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου, αὐτῷ δὲ[2] πολὺ πρώτῳ· καὶ ὅτε προσνεύσειεν ἐκεῖνος, οὕτως ᾔτουν καὶ οἱ λοιποί. τὰ δὲ παρατιθέμενα ἐπὶ μὲν
e τραπεζίου ἦν τοῦ τυχόντος, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὥστε μήθ᾽[3] ὑπεραίρειν μήτ᾽ ἐλλείπειν,[4] ἀλλ᾽ ἱκανὰ ἅπασι γίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ προσδεῖσθαι τοὺς παρόντας. οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως ᾤετο δεῖν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις δέχεσθαι ζωμῷ καὶ κρεαδίοις ἀφελῶς οὔτε πάλιν οὕτως ὑπερτείνειν ὡς εἰς τὸ μηθὲν δαπανᾶν, ὑπερβάλλοντα τὸ σύμμετρον τῆς διαίτης. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεύθερον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ δ᾽[5] ὑπερήφανον. ὁ δ᾽ οἶνος ἦν μικρῷ βελτίων ὅτε παρείησάν τινες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δειπνήσειαν, ἐσιώπων πάντες, ὅ τε παῖς ἐφειστήκει κεκραμένον
f ἔχων τὸ ποτὸν καὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι προσέφερε. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον οὐ πλεῖον ἐδίδοτο δύο κυάθων καὶ τοῦτο προσνεύσαντι προσεφέρετο. ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε παρεπορεύετο, διετέλει δ᾽ αὐτὸς προσομιλῶν πρὸς ἕκαστον καὶ πάντας ἐκκαλούμενος εἰς τὸ τὰ μὲν ἀκούειν, τὰ δὲ λέγειν αὐτούς, ὥστε τεθηρευμένους ἀποτρέχειν ἅπαντας.”

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[1] αἰτήσειεν· ἐδίδοτο Casaubon: αἰτήσει· ἐνεδίδοτο A.

[2] αὐτῷ δὲ Kaibel: τὸ δὲ A.

eldest led the way to the couches, unless Cleomenes himself called out the name of some person. Usually he was found to be reclining with his brother, or with one of the men of his own age. On the tripod lay a bronze cooler, a wine-jar, a silver bowl holding a pint, and a ladle; the pitcher was of bronze. But no drink was offered unless someone asked for it. One ladleful was given before the meal, to Cleomenes long before the others, and only when he nodded to them did the others ask for theirs. The courses served on the small table were quite ordinary, and for the rest, they were in such quantity as neither to exceed nor fall short of the need—enough for all without having any of the guests call for more. For Cleomenes thought that they ought not to receive merely the frugal entertainment of broth and bits of meat, as they did at the common mess, nor, on the other hand, to go to such excess as to waste money to no good, by exceeding the moderation of their daily life. For the one he regarded as meanness, the other as pride. The wine was of a little better quality when guests were present. After the meals all remained silent, and the slave, standing by with the wine ready mixed, gave it to anyone who asked for it. Just as before the meal, so also after it, not more than two ladlesful were offered, and then only when one signified his desire by a nod. No entertainment ever accompanied the meal, but the king himself conversed with each in turn, inviting all either to listen or to speak, so that they were all captivated by him when they departed."

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[3] *μήθ'* Dindorf: *μὴ* AC.
[4] *μήτ' ἐλλείπειν* Meineke: *μήτε λείπειν* AC.
[5] *ἐνόμιζε, τὸ δ'* Meineke: *ἐνομίζετο* AC.

Διακωμῳδῶν δ' Ἀντιφάνης τὰ Λακωνικὰ δεῖπνα ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἄρχων φησὶν οὕτως·

143 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
γέγονας· ἐκείνων τῶν νόμων μεθεκτέον
ἐστίν. βάδιζ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὰ φιδίτια[1]·
ἀπόλαυε τοῦ ζωμοῦ, φορεῖν[2] τοὺς βύστακας
μὴ καταφρόνει[3] μηδ' ἕτερ' ἐπιζήτει καλά·
ἐν τοῖς δ' ἐκείνων ἔθεσιν ἴσθ' ἀρχαϊκός.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν Κρητικῶν συσσιτίων Δωσιάδας
ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ δʹ τῶν Κρητικῶν γράφει οὕτως·
"οἱ δὲ Λύττιοι[4] συνάγουσι μὲν τὰ κοινὰ συσσίτια
οὕτως. ἕκαστος τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν ἀναφέρει
b τὴν δεκάτην εἰς τὴν ἑταιρίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως
προσόδους ἃς διανέμουσιν[5] οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς
πόλεως εἰς τοὺς ἑκάστων οἴκους. τῶν δὲ δούλων
ἕκαστος Αἰγιναῖον φέρει στατῆρα κατὰ κεφαλήν.
διῄρηνται δ' οἱ πολῖται πάντες καθ' ἑταιρίας,
καλοῦσι δὲ ταύτας ἀνδρεῖα. τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχει
τοῦ συσσιτίου γυνὴ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας τῶν δημοτικῶν
προσειληφυῖα πρὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἑκάστῳ δ'
αὐτῶν ἀκολουθοῦσι δύο θεράποντες ξυλοφόροι·
καλοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς καλοφόρους. εἰσὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ
κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην οἶκοι δύο ταῖς συσσιτίαις, ὧν
c τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀνδρεῖον, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ἐν ᾧ τοὺς
ξένους κοιμίζουσι κοιμητήριον προσαγορεύουσι.
κατὰ δὲ τὸν συσσιτικὸν οἶκον πρῶτον μὲν κεῖνται

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[1] φιδίτια Cobet: φειδίτια A.

[2] φορεῖν Schweighäuser: φόρει AC, ῥόφει Ruhnken.

[3] μὴ καταφρόνει AC: μηκέτι φόρει Herwerden, μὴ καινοτόμει, "bring no innovations," Kock. The translation adopts the Ionic meaning of καταφρόνει, "be ambitious for."

[4] Λύττιοι Wilamowitz: λύτγιοι A.

Antiphanes, satirizing Spartan dinners in the play entitled *The Magistrate*,[a] has the following: "You have been in Lacedaemon! Then you must conform to their customs: go to the common mess for your dinner; enjoy their broth, give up wearing your ambitious mustachios,[b] and seek no more for other refinements. In their customs be yourself old-fashioned."

Recording facts about the Cretan commons in the fourth book of his *Cretan History*,[c] Dosiadas writes as follows: "The Lyttians pool their goods for the common mess in this way: every man contributes a tithe of his crops to his club, as well as the income from the state which the magistrates of the city divide among the households of all the citizens.[d] But all slaves pay one Aeginetan stater *per caput*. The citizens are distributed in clubs which are called *andreia* ('halls of men'). The mess is in charge of a woman who has assistants, three or four men chosen from the common people. Each of them is attended by two servants who bring in the fire-wood; these are called faggot-bearers. Everywhere throughout Crete there are two houses for the public messes; one of these is called *andreion*, the other, in which they entertain strangers, is called *koimeterion* ('resting-place'). In the house intended for the mess there are set out, first of all, two tables, called 'guest-

[a] Kock ii. 28.

[b] The Ephors forbade the wearing of a moustache. See critical note.

[c] *F.H.G.* iv. 399.

[d] See crit. note.

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[5] Kaibel, not believing that the revenues were divided among the citizens, proposed, after *ἑταιρίαν, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ἃ διανέμουσιν*, "also a tithe of their other income, which the magistrates divide."

δύο τράπεζαι ξενικαὶ καλούμεναι, αἷς προκαθίζουσι[1] τῶν ξένων οἱ παρόντες· ἑξῆς δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἄλλων. παρατίθεται δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἴσον μέρος ἑκάστῳ· τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις ἥμισυ δίδοται κρέως, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐθενὸς ἅπτονται. εἶτα ποτήριον ἐν ἑκάστῃ τραπέζῃ παρατίθεται κεκραμένον ὑδαρῶς· τοῦτο κοινῇ πάντες πίνουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν[2] d τράπεζαν, καὶ δειπνήσασιν ἄλλο παρατίθεται. τοῖς δὲ παισὶ κοινὸς[3] κέκραται κρατήρ· τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ἐὰν βούλωνται πλεῖον πιεῖν ἐξουσία δέδοται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τὰ βέλτιστα τῶν παρακειμένων ἡ προεστηκυῖα τῆς συσσιτίας γυνὴ φανερῶς ἀφαιροῦσα παρατίθησι τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ σύνεσιν δεδοξασμένοις. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δείπνου πρῶτον μὲν εἰώθασι βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα μέμνηνται τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον πράξεων καὶ τοὺς γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι, προτρεπόμενοι τοὺς νεωτέρους εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν."

e Πυργίων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Κρητικῶν Νομίμων "ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, φησίν, οἱ Κρῆτες καθήμενοι συσσιτοῦσι[4]· καὶ ὅτι ἀβαμβάκευστα τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς παρατίθεται· καὶ ὅτι οἱ νεώτατοι αὐτῶν ἐφεστᾶσι διακονοῦντες· καὶ ὅτι μετ' εὐφημίας σπείσαντες τοῖς θεοῖς μερίζουσι τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἅπασι· ἀπονέμουσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς κατὰ τὸν θᾶκον τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑφιζάνουσιν ἐξ ἡμισείας τῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι παρατιθεμένων, τοὺς δ' ὀρφανοὺς ἰσο-

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[1] *προκαθίζουσι* AC: *προσκαθίζουσι* Meineke.

[2] *αὐτὴν* Meyer: *κοινὴν* AC.

[3] *κοινὸς* AC: *εἷς μόνος* Dobree.

[4] *συσσιτοῦσι* Dobree: *εὐσιτοῦσι* A. The next words, *καὶ ὅτι . . . παρατίθεται*, are probably a late gloss; *cf.* below.

tables,' at which sit in honour any strangers who are in town; next come the tables for the others. An equal portion of the food on hand is served to each person; but only a half-portion of meat is given to the younger men, and they get nothing of the other food. Then on each table is placed a cup filled with wine much diluted; this is shared by all who are at the same table, and a second cup is served after they have finished the meal. For the boys a mixing-bowl is prepared which they share in common, but permission is given the older men to drink more if they desire. The woman in charge of the mess takes from the table in the sight of all the best of everything that is served, and sets it before the men who have distinguished themselves in war or in wisdom. After dinner they are in the habit first of deliberating on public affairs; from that subject they proceed to call up deeds of prowess in war and to praise the men of proved bravery, in order to encourage the younger men in the pursuit of virtue."

Pyrgion, in the third book of his *Cretan Customs*,[a] says that Cretans at the public mess eat together in a sitting posture.[b] He further says that food without condiments is served to the orphans; that the youngest of the Cretan men stand by to wait at the tables; and that, after a silent libation to the gods, they proceed to the distribution of the food on hand to all present. They also apportion to the sons seated below their fathers' chairs only one half as much as is served to the adult men, but the orphans receive an equal share with the latter, although in

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 486.

[b] Instead of reclining.

f μερεῖς εἶναι· παρατίθεται δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀβαμβάκευτα τῇ κράσει καθ᾽ ἕκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θᾶκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτη δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεῖα, ἣν Ξενίου τε Διὸς ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον."

Ἡρόδοτος δὲ συγκρίνων τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμπόσια πρὸς τὰ παρὰ Πέρσαις φησίν· "ἡμέρην δὲ Πέρσαι ἁπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιεῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαί-
144 μονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ὄνον καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοις· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτίθενται. σίτοισί τε ὀλίγοισι χρέονται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἁλέσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασι Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι. οἴνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται· καί σφιν οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστιν, οὐκ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. μεθυσκόμενοι
b δὲ εἰώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ᾽ ἂν ἅδῃ σφίσι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στεγέαρχος ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται. καὶ ἢν μὲν ἅδῃ καὶ νήφουσι, χρέονται αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ μή, μετιεῖσιν. τὰ δ᾽ ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι."

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[a] i. 133.

[b] *Cf.* the incredulity of Dicaeopolis about this (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 85) quoted above, 131 a.

their case each of the customary foods is served without the admixture of any condiments. There were also chairs reserved for guests, and a third table at the right as one entered the halls, which they called 'the table of Zeus, god of strangers,' or 'the strangers' table.'"

Herodotus,[a] comparing the symposia of the Greeks with those of the Persians, says: "Of all the days in the year, the one which the Persians are accustomed to celebrate most is their birthday. On that day they deem it right to have a more abundant feast set before them than on all other days. Then the rich among them cause to be brought to the table an ox or ass or horse or camel roasted whole in the oven;[b] the poor set out small animals. Breadstuffs they use but little, but they have many added dishes, though they are not served all at once. And the Persians say that the Greeks are still hungry when they stop eating, because nothing worth mentioning is brought in for them after the chief meal; if more were put before them they would not stop eating. The Persians are greatly addicted to wine; and it is not permissible to vomit or to make water in presence of another. These, then, are the customs observed by them. They are in the habit of deliberating on the most important matters when they are drunk, and whatsoever is their pleasure when they deliberate is brought before them for consideration the next day, when they are sober, by the master of the house where they happen to be when they deliberate. And if it still be their pleasure when they are sober, they act on it, otherwise they renounce it. Again, whatever they decide upon when they are sober they reconsider when they are drunk."

Περὶ δὲ τῆς τρυφῆς τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλέων
Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω γράφει· “τῷ μὲν
γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες
τί ἂν ἡδέως πίοι, μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται τί ἂν
c ἡδέως φάγοι· ὅπως γε μὴν καταδάρθοι οὐδ’ ἂν
εἴποι τις ὅσα πραγματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
διὰ τὸ φιλόπονος εἶναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως
ἔπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ συντυχὸν ἡδέως ἤσθιεν· εἰς δὲ
τὸ ἀσμένως κοιμηθῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἱκανὸς ἦν
αὐτῷ.” ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἱέρωνι ἐπιγραφομένῳ λέγων
περὶ τῶν τοῖς τυράννοις παρασκευαζομένων καὶ
τῶν τοῖς ἰδιώταις εἰς τροφάς φησιν οὕτως· “καὶ
οἶδά γε, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν
οἱ πλεῖστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν
ἰδιωτῶν ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν δειπνῆσαι
d τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς. τὸ
γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς
ἡδονάς, διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως προσδέχονται
τὰς ἑορτὰς πλὴν[1] οἱ τύραννοι. ἔκπλεῳ
γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ παρεσκευασμέναι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς
ἑορταῖς ἐπίδοσιν ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τράπεζαι·
ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος
μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. ἔπειτα, ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο
εὖ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω
τις[2] παραθῆται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσούτῳ
e καὶ θᾶσσον[3] κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς. ὥστε
καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος
πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων. ἀλλὰ

[1] πλὴν οὐχ A, ἀλλ’ οὐχ C.

[2] ὅσῳ ἄν τις πλέων τις A, ὅσῳ ἄν τις πλείωτις C.

[3] θᾶσσον μᾶλλον A.

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[a] 9. 3. [b] 1. 17. [c] *Cf.* Aristot. *Nic. Eth.* x. 4, 1175 a.

Concerning the luxury of the Persian kings Xenophon writes thus in *Agesilaus*[a]: "For the benefit of the Persian king they go about the entire country in search of something he may like to drink, and countless persons devise dishes which he may like to eat. No one could say, either, what trouble they give themselves that he may sleep in comfort. But Agesilaus, being devoted to hard work, was glad to drink anything that was before him, and was glad to eat whatever came first to hand, and any place was satisfactory to him for securing grateful sleep." In the work entitled *Hieron*,[b] speaking of what food is prepared for the delectation of tyrants and of men in private station, he says: "'I know too, Simonides, that most persons infer that we eat and drink with greater zest than ordinary people from this fact, that they would themselves, as they believe, be more pleased to dine on the meal that is set before us than on what is served to themselves. For it is anything that transcends the usual that gives pleasure,[c] which is the reason why all men except tyrants look forward with joy to holiday feasts. For since the tables set before tyrants are always heavily laden, they have nothing special to offer on feast-days, so that here is the first particular in which they are at a disadvantage compared with men in private station, namely in the delight of anticipation. Then secondly, he said, I am sure that you have learned that the more abundantly one is supplied with things which go beyond his needs, the more quickly he suffers from satiety as regards eating. Wherefore, again, the one who has too many things set before him is at a disadvantage, compared with those who live moderately, in the duration of his pleasure.' 'Yes,

ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡ
ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἥδονται οἱ
ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν
τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.”

Θεόφραστος δ’ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Κάσανδρον περὶ
βασιλείας (εἰ γνήσιον τὸ σύγγραμμα· πολλοὶ γὰρ
αὐτό φασιν εἶναι Σωσιβίου, εἰς ὃν Καλλίμαχος
ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπίνικον ἐλεγειακὸν ἐποίησεν) τοὺς
Περσῶν φησι βασιλεῖς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς προκηρύττειν
f τοῖς ἐφευρίσκουσί τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἀργυρίου
πλῆθος. Θεόπομπος δ’ ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ
πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὸν Παφλαγόνων φησὶ
βασιλέα Θῦν ἑκατὸν πάντα παρατίθεσθαι δειπνοῦντα
ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπὸ βοῶν ἀρξάμενον·
καὶ ἀναχθέντα αἰχμάλωτον ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἐν
φυλακῇ ὄντα πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ παρατίθεσθαι ζῶντα
λαμπρῶς. διὸ καὶ ἀκούσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην εἰπεῖν
ὅτι οὕτως αὐτῷ δοκοίη ζῆν ὡς ταχέως ἀπολούμενος.
145 ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ
τῶν Φιλιππικῶν “ὅταν, φησί, βασιλεὺς
εἴς τινας ἀφίκηται τῶν ἀρχομένων, εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον
αὐτοῦ δαπανᾶσθαι εἴκοσι τάλαντα, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ
τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ καὶ πολὺ πλείω δαπανῶσιν.
ἑκάσταις γὰρ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ὥσπερ
ὁ φόρος καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τεταγμένον
ἐστίν.”

Ἡρακλείδης δ’ ὁ Κυμαῖος ὁ τὰ Περσικὰ συγγράψας
ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων
b Παρασκευαστικῶν “καὶ οἱ θεραπεύοντες, φησί,
τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλεῖς δειπνοῦντας ἅπαντες λε-

but, good heavens,' Simonides replied, 'so long as their appetites are keen, surely those who enjoy a richer array of food must have more pleasure than those before whom poorer dishes are set.'"

Theophrastus, in his treatise *On Monarchy*[a] dedicated to Cassander (if the work is authentic; for many declare that it is by Sosibius, for whom the poet Callimachus wrote a congratulatory poem in elegiac verse), says that the Persian kings, to gratify their love of luxury, offer a large sum of money as a reward for all who invent a new pleasure. And Theopompus, in the thirty-fifth book of his *Histories*,[b] says that whenever the Paphlagonian prince Thys dined, he had a hundred of everything prepared for the table, beginning with oxen; and even when he was carried away a captive to the Persian king's court and kept under guard, he again had the same number served to him, and lived on a splendid scale. Wherefore, when Artaxerxes heard of it, he said that it was plain to him that Thys was living as though he had made up his mind to die soon. The same Theopompus, in the fourteenth book of his *History of Philip*,[c] says that "whenever the Great King visits any of his subjects, twenty and sometimes thirty talents are expended on his dinner; others even spend much more. For the dinner, like the tribute, has from ancient times been imposed upon all cities in proportion to their population."

Heracleides of Cumae, author of the *Persian History*,[d] writes, in the second book of the work entitled *Equipment*: "All who attend upon the Persian kings when they dine first bathe themselves

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[a] Frag. 125 Wimmer.
[b] *F.H.G.* i. 311.
[c] *Ibid.* 298.
[d] *Ibid.* ii. 96.

λουμένοι διακονοῦσιν ἐσθῆτας λευκὰς[1] ἔχοντες καὶ
διατρίβουσι σχεδὸν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ
τὸ δεῖπνον. τῶν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως συνδείπνων οἱ
μὲν ἔξω δειπνοῦσιν, οὓς καὶ ὁρᾶν ἔξεστι παντὶ
τῷ βουλομένῳ, οἱ δὲ εἴσω μετὰ βασιλέως. καὶ
οὗτοι δὲ οὐ συνδειπνοῦσιν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν
οἰκήματα δύο καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλων, ἐν ᾧ θ'[2]
ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἄριστον ποιεῖται καὶ ἐν ᾧ οἱ σύνδειπνοι·
καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκείνους ὁρᾷ διὰ τοῦ
παρακαλύμματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ, ἐκεῖνοι δ'
c αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρῶσιν. ἐνίοτε μέντοι ἐπειδὰν ἑορτὴ
ᾖ, ἐν ἑνὶ οἰκήματι ἅπαντες δειπνοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ οἴκῳ. ὅταν δὲ βασιλεὺς
πότον ποιῆται (ποιεῖ[3] δὲ πολλάκις), συμπόται
αὐτῷ εἰσιν ὡς μάλιστα δώδεκα. καὶ ὅταν δειπνήσωσιν,
ὅ τε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ
οἱ σύνδειπνοι, καλεῖ τοὺς συμπότας τούτους τις
τῶν εὐνούχων. καὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθωσι συμπίνουσιν
μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον κἀκεῖνοι, καὶ οἱ
μὲν χαμαὶ καθήμενοι, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσόποδος
d κατακείμενος· καὶ ὑπερμεθυσθέντες ἀπέρχονται.
τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ὁ βασιλεὺς μόνος ἀριστᾷ καὶ
δειπνεῖ, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῷ συνδειπνεῖ καὶ
τῶν υἱῶν ἔνιοι. καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ᾄδουσί τε
καὶ ψάλλουσιν αἱ παλλακαὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ μία μὲν
ἐξάρχει, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἁθρόως ᾄδουσι. τὸ δὲ
δεῖπνον, φησί, τὸ[4] βασιλέως καλούμενον ἀκούσαντι
μὲν δόξει μεγαλοπρεπὲς εἶναι, ἐξεταζόμενον δὲ

[1] λευκὰς C, καλὰς A.
[2] θ' added by Meineke.
[3] ποιῆται ποιεῖ A: ποιεῖ ποιεῖται C: ποιῆται, ποιεῖται Kaibel.
[4] τὸ Wilamowitz: τοῦ A.

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[a] Drinking-bout following the dinner.

and then serve in white clothes, and spend nearly half the day on preparations for the dinner. Of those who are invited to eat with the king, some dine outdoors, in full sight of anyone who wishes to look on ; others dine indoors in the king's company. Yet even these do not eat in his presence, for there are two rooms opposite each other, in one of which the king has his meal, in the other the invited guests. The king can see them through the curtain at the door, but they cannot see him. Sometimes, however, on the occasion of a public holiday, all dine in a single room with the king, in the great hall. And whenever the king commands a symposium[a] (which he does often), he has about a dozen companions at the drinking. When they have finished dinner, that is, the king by himself, the guests in the other room, these fellow-drinkers are summoned by one of the eunuchs ; and entering they drink with him, though even they do not have the same wine ; moreover, they sit on the floor, while he reclines on a couch supported by feet of gold ; and they depart after having drunk to excess. In most cases the king breakfasts and dines alone, but sometimes his wife and some of his sons dine with him. And throughout the dinner his concubines sing and play the lyre ; one of them is the soloist,[b] the others sing in chorus. And so, Heracleides continues, the 'king's dinner,' as it is called, will appear prodigal to one who merely hears about it, but when one examines it carefully it will be found to have been got up with economy

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[b] The significance of this for the history of the drama should be noted. In Aristot. *Poet.* iv., where tragedy is said to be derived ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, τῶν ἐξαρχόντων certainly does not mean, as Bywater renders it, "authors."

φανεῖται οἰκονομικῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς συντεταγμένον
e καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Πέρσαις τοῖς ἐν δυναστείᾳ οὖσι
κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ
χίλια ἱερεῖα τῆς ἡμέρας κατακοπτόμενα· τούτων
δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ κάμηλοι καὶ βόες καὶ ὄνοι
καὶ ἔλαφοι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα πρόβατα· πολλοὶ δὲ
καὶ ὄρνιθες ἀναλίσκονται, οἵ τε στρουθοὶ οἱ
Ἀράβιοι—ἐστὶν δὲ τὸ ζῷον μέγα—καὶ χῆνες καὶ
ἀλεκτρυόνες. καὶ μέτρια μὲν αὐτῶν παρατίθεται
ἑκάστῳ τῶν συνδείπνων τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἀποφέρεται
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὅ τι ἂν καταλίπηται ἐπὶ
τῷ ἀρίστῳ. τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τούτων τῶν ἱερείων
f καὶ τῶν σιτίων οὓς τρέφει βασιλεὺς τῶν τε
δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν, τούτοις ἐκφέρεται
εἰς τὴν αὐλήν· οὗ ἡμιδεῆ[1] ἅπαντα μερίδας ποιήσαντες
τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄρτων ἴσας διαιροῦνται.
ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μισθὸν
ἀργύριον λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτως οὗτοι τὰ σιτία
παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ὑπόλογον λαμβάνουσιν.
οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Πέρσαις τοῖς ἐν
δυναστείᾳ οὖσιν ἁθρόα πάντα τὰ σιτία ἐπὶ τὴν
τράπεζαν παρατίθεται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ οἱ σύνδειπνοι
δειπνήσωσι, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης καταλειπομένων[2]
(καταλείπεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα κρέα καὶ
ἄρτοι) ὁ τῆς τραπέζης ἐπιμελούμενος δίδωσιν
ἑκάστῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ ταῦτα λαβὼν τὴν καθ'
146 ἡμέραν ἔχει τροφήν. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα
φοιτῶσιν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι τῶν συνδείπνων ἐπὶ τὸ
ἄριστον μόνον διὰ τὸ παρῃτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δὶς
πορεύωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς συνδείπνους
ὑποδέχωνται.”

Ἡρόδοτος δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ ζ' ὡς οἱ ὑποδεχόμενοι

and even with parsimony; and the same is true of the dinners among other Persians in high station. For one thousand animals are slaughtered daily for the king; these comprise horses, camels, oxen, asses, deer, and most of the smaller animals; many birds also are consumed, including Arabian ostriches—and the creature is large—geese, and cocks. And of all these only moderate portions are served to each of the king's guests, and each of them may carry home whatever he leaves untouched at the meal. But the greater part of these meats and other foods are taken out into the courtyard for the body-guard and light-armed troopers maintained by the king; there they divide all the half-eaten[a] remnants of meat and bread and share them in equal portions. Just as hired soldiers in Greece receive their wages in money, so these men receive food from the king in requital for services. Similarly among other Persians of high rank, all the food is served on the table at one and the same time; but when their guests have done eating, whatever is left from the table, consisting chiefly of meat and bread, is given by the officer in charge of the table to each of the slaves; this they take and so obtain their daily food. Hence the most highly honoured of the king's guests go to court only for breakfast; for they beg to be excused in order that they may not be required to go twice, but may be able to entertain their own guests."

Herodotus, in the seventh book, says[b] that those

[a] See cr. n. [b] Chap. 118 (Book η′ as numbered to-day).

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[1] ἡμιδεῆ Kaibel, *cf.* Xen. *Anab.* i. 9. 25: καὶ ἰδίᾳ, "individually," Lumb: ἦν ἰδεῖν A.

[2] καταλειπομένων Meineke: παραλειπομένων AC.

Ἑλλήνων τὸν βασιλέα[1] καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξην
ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀφίκοντο οὕτως ὥστε ἐκ τῶν οἴκων
ἀνάστατοι ἐγίνοντο[2]· ὅκου Θασίοισιν ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοις
τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνίσασι[3] τετρακόσια
b τάλαντα ἀργυρίου Ἀντίπατρος τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ
δόκιμος[4] ἐδαπάνησε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκπώματα ἀργυρᾶ
καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ κρατῆρας παρετίθεντο, καὶ ταῦτα
μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. . .[5] εἰ δὲ Ξέρξης δὶς ἐσιτέετο
μεταλαμβάνων καὶ ἄριστον, ἀνάστατοι ἂν ἐγεγόνεσαν
αἱ πόλεις." καὶ ἐν τῇ θʹ δὲ τῶν ἱστοριῶν
φησι· "βασιλήιον δεῖπνον βασιλεὺς προτίθεται,
τοῦτο δὲ παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν
ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο ὁ βασιλεύς. οὔνομα δὲ τῷ
δείπνῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ τέλειον.
τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον καὶ Πέρσαις
c δωρέεται." ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος δειπνῶν
ἑκάστοτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἔφιππος ὁ
Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος
μεταλλαγῆς, ἀνήλισκε τῆς ἡμέρας μνᾶς
ἑκατόν, δειπνούντων ἴσως ἑξήκοντα ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα
φίλων. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὥς φησι
Κτησίας καὶ Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς, ἐδείπνει
μὲν μετὰ ἀνδρῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, καὶ
ἀνηλίσκετο εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τάλαντα τετρακόσια.

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[1] τὸν βασιλέα AC: τὴν στρατιὴν Herodotus.

[2] ἐγίνοντο A and most MSS. of Herodotus: ἐγένοντο C and cod. R of Herodotus.

[3] δειπνίσασι C, δειπνήσασι A.

[4] δόκιμος added from Herodotus.

[5] The sense of the missing words may be inferred from Herod. vii. 119 πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι, "they marched away only after they

Greeks who received the king and entertained Xerxes at dinner were reduced to such dire distress that they lost house and home. On one occasion, when the Thasians, to save the towns belonging to them on the mainland, received and entertained the army of Xerxes, four hundred talents in silver were expended in their behalf by Antipater, a prominent citizen ; for cups and mixing-bowls of silver and gold were furnished at table, and after the dinner (these were carried off as spoil by the Persians). If Xerxes had eaten there twice, taking breakfast as well as dinner, the cities would have been utterly ruined." And in the ninth book, also, of his *Histories* [a] he says : " The Great King gives a royal banquet which is held once a year on his birthday. The name given to the dinner, in Persian, is *tukta*, which in Greek means 'complete.' On that day alone the king smears his head with ointment and gives presents to the Persians." Alexander the Great, every time he dined with his friends, according to Ephippus of Olynthus, in the book [b] which describes the demise of Alexander and Hephaestion, spent one hundred minas,[c] there being perhaps sixty or seventy friends at dinner. But the Persian king, as Ctesias [d] and Dinon [e] (in his *Persian History*) say, used to dine in company with 15,000 men, and four hundred talents [f] were expended on the dinner. This amounts, in

[a] Chap. 110 (Book ί′).

[b] p. 125 Müller.

[c] 1⅔ talents.

[d] Frag. 50 Müller.

[e] *F.H.G.* ii. 93.

[f] Over $600,000 or $40 (£8) a cover.

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had taken all these vessels, leaving nothing, but looting them all."

d γίνεται δὲ ταῦτα Ἰταλικοῦ νομίσματος ἐν μυριάσι διακοσίαις τεσσαράκοντα, αὗται δὲ εἰς μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους μεριζόμεναι ἑκάστῳ ἀνδρὶ γίνονται ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα Ἰταλικοῦ νομίσματος. ὥστ' εἰς ἴσον καθίστασθαι τῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναλώματι· ἑκατὸν γὰρ μνᾶς ἀνήλισκεν, ὡς ὁ Ἔφιππος ἱστόρησε. Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Μέθῃ τοῦ μεγίστου δείπνου δαπάνημα τάλαντον τίθησι λέγων οὕτως·

εἶτ' οὐχ ὅμοια πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν·
ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἠγορασμένον
δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,
αὐλητρίδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας,
Μενδαῖον,[1] Θάσιον, ἐγχέλεις, τυρόν, μέλι
μικροῦ ταλάντου, γίνεταί τε κατὰ λόγον[2] . . .

ὡς γὰρ ὑπερβολῆς τινος ἀναλώματος τάλαντον ὠνόμασε. καὶ ἐν Δυσκόλῳ δέ φησιν οὕτως·

ὡς θύουσι δ' οἱ τοιχωρύχοι,
κίστας[3] φέροντες σταμνία τ'[4] οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἕνεκ', ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβὲς
f καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ
ἅπαν ἐπιτεθέν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκραν
καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα,[5] τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τἄλλα καταπίνουσι.

Φιλόξενος δ' ὁ Κυθήριος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Δείπνῳ—εἴπερ τούτου καὶ ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φάωνι ἐμνήσθη καὶ μὴ τοῦ Λευκαδίου Φιλοξένου—τοιαύτην ἐκτίθεται παρασκευὴν δείπνου·

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[1] Μενδαῖον Athen. 364 d: ταύτας A.

[2] μικροῦ ταλάντου, γίνεταί τε κατὰ λόγον A at 364 d: μικροῦ τάλαντον γίγνεται τὸ κατὰ λόγον A, a mistake due to the attempt to finish the quotation at this point.

the coinage of Italy, to 2,400,000 denarii, which, divided among 15,000 men, make 160 denarii, Italic currency, for each man. Consequently it comes to the same sum as that spent by Alexander, which was one hundred minas, as Ephippus related. But Menander, in *The Carouse*,[a] reckons the expense of the largest banquet at a talent only when he says: "So then, our prosperity accords not with the way in which we offer sacrifice. For though to the gods I bring an offering of a tiny sheep bought for ten drachmas, and glad I am to get it so cheap; but for flute-girls and perfume, harp-girls, Mendean and Thasian wine, eels, cheese, and honey, the cost is almost a talent; and whereas by analogy it is . . ." He evidently mentions a talent as though it were an extravagant expenditure. Again, in *The Peevish Man*,[b] he has the following: "So burglars sacrifice: they bring chests and wine-jars, not for the gods' sake, but for their own. The frankincense is required by religion, and so is the meal-cake; the god gets this, offered entire on the fire. But they, after giving the end of the spine and the gall-bladder to the gods—because unfit to eat—gulp down the rest themselves."

Philoxenus of Cythera, in the poem entitled *The Banquet* (granting that it is he and not the Leucadian Philoxenus, who was mentioned by the comic poet Plato in *Phaon*[c]), describes the arrangements of a

[a] Kock iii. 91, Allinson 402. *Cf.* Athen. 364 d, where the quotation is extended.

[b] Kock iii. 38, Allinson 346.

[c] Kock i. 646.

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[3] κίστας Grotius: κοίτας A.

[4] τ' added by Brunck.

[5] ὀστέα τὰ ἄβρωτα Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* p. 277.

εἰς δ' ἔφερον διπλόοι παῖδες λιπαρῶπα τράπεζαν
147 ἄμμ', ἑτέραν δ' ἑτέροις, ἄλλοι δ' ἑτέραν, μέχρι
οὗ πλήρωσαν οἶκον.
ταὶ δὲ πρὸς ὑψιλύχνους ἔστιλβον αὐγὰς
εὐστέφανοι λεκάναις[1] παροψίσι τ' ὀξυβάφων
πλήρεις . . . σύν τε χλιδῶσαι
παντοδαποῖσι τέχνας εὑρήμασι πρὸς βιοτάν,
ψυχᾶς δελεασματίοισι.
πάρφερον ἐν κανέοις μάζας χιονόχροας, ἄλλοι
δ' . . .[2]
τοῖς δ' ἔπι[2] πρῶτα παρῆλθ' οὐ κάκκαβος, ὦ
φιλότας, ἀλλ' ἁλοπαγές τι μέγιστον.[3]
πάντ' ἔπαθεν[4] λιπαρόν τ' ἐς ἐγχέλεά τινες ἄριστον
γογγροπροσωποτόμων[5] πλῆρες θεοτερπές. ἐπ'
αὐτῷ δ'
ἄλλο παρῆλθε τόσον, βατὶς δ' ἐνέης[6] ἰσόκυκλος.
b μικρὰ δὲ κακκάβι' ἧς ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν γαλεοῦ τι,
ναρκίον ἄλλο . . .
. . παρῆς ἕτερον πίων ἀπὸ τευθιάδων[7] καὶ σηπιοπουλυποδείων
. . ἁπαλοπλοκάμων. θερμὸς μετὰ ταῦτα παρῆλθεν
ἰσοτράπεζος ὅλος νῆστις[8] συνόδων πυρός . . .
. . ἔπειτα βαθμοὺς ἀτμίζων· ἐπὶ τῷ δ' ἐπίπασται
τευθίδες, ὦ φίλε, κἀξανθισμέναι καρῖδες αἱ
κυφαὶ παρῆλθον.
θρυμματίδες δ' ἐπὶ ταύταις εὐπέταλοι χλωραί
θ' ἁδυφάρυγγες[9] . . .

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[1] Bergk: ἑστεφανοι λαχάνοις A.

dinner in these terms[a]: "And slaves twain brought unto us a table with well-oiled face, another for others, while other henchmen bore a third, until they filled the chamber. The tables glistened in the rays of the high-swinging lamps, freighted with trenchers and condiments delectable in cruets, full . . . and luxuriant in divers artful inventions to pleasure life, tempting lures of the spirit. Some slaves set beside us snowy-topped barley-cakes in baskets, while others (brought in loaves of wheat). After them first came not an ordinary tureen, my love, but a riveted vessel of huge size; . . . a glistening dish of eels to break our fast, full of conger-faced morsels that would delight a god. After this another pot of the same size came in, and a soused ray of perfect roundness. There were small kettles, one containing some meat of a shark, another a sting-ray. Another rich dish there was, made of squid and sepia-polyps with soft tentacles. After this came a grey mullet hot from its contact with fire, the whole as large as the table, exhaling spirals of steam. After it came breaded squid, my friend, and crooked prawns done brown. Following these we had flower-leaved cakes and fresh confections spiced, puff-cakes of wheat

[a] *P.L.G.*⁵ iii. 601; assigned to Philoxenus of Leucas by Diehl, *Anthol. Lyrica*, iii. 314.

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[2] ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεὶ A: ἄλλοι . . . τοῖς δ' ἔπι Bergk.

[3] ἀλοπαγές τι μέγιστον Kaibel: ἀλλοπλατεῖς A, ἀλοπλατεῖς Hermolaus Barbarus: ἀλοπατεῖς B.

[4] Corrupt.

[5] γογγροπροσωποτόμων Kaibel: γογγροιτοιωνητεμων A.

[6] Bergk: βαστισνεην A.

[7] τευθιάδων Bergk: τευθιάδα A.

[8] νῆστις Schweighäuser: μνηστης A: μναστὴρ Kaibel.

[9] ἡδυφάρυγγες Musurus: δηφαρυγες A.

c πύρνων τε στεγαναὶ φύσται μέγαθος κακκάβου γλυκυόξεις.[1]
ὀμφαλὸς θοίνας καλεῖται παρά γ' ἐμὶν καὶ τίν, σαφ' οἶδα.
ὕστατα[2] ναὶ μὰ θεοὺς ὑπερμέγεθες τέμαχος θύννου[3] μόλεν ὀπτὸν ἐκεῖθεν
θερμοῦ ὅθι γλυφάνοις[4] τετμημένον εὐθὺς ἀπ' αὐτᾶς
τᾶς ὑπογαστριδίας.[5] διανεκέως ἐπαμύνειν[6]
εἴπερ ἐμίν τε μέλοι καὶ τίν, μάλα κεν κεχαροίμεθ'.
ἀλλ' ὅθεν[7] ἐλλίπομεν, θοίνα παρέης· ὅσα γ' ἀλλέξαι δυνατά, κρατέω κἄγωγ'[8] ἔτι, κοὔ κε λέγοι τις
πάνθ' ἃ παρῆν ἐτύμως ὔμμιν· παρέπαισε δὲ θερμὸν
d σπλάγχνον ἔπειτα δὲ νῆστις
δέλφακος οἰκετικᾶς καὶ νῶτος ἐσῆλθε καὶ ὀσφὺς καὶ μινυρίγματα θερμά.
καὶ κεφάλαιον ὅλον διάπτυχες ἑφθὸν ἀπερπευθηνος[9] γαλακτοτρόφου[10] πνικτᾶς ἐρίφου παρέθηκε,
εἶτα δίεφθ' ἀκροκώλια σχελίδας τε μετ' αὐτῶν
λευκοφορινοχρόους, ῥύγχη, κεφάλαια πόδας τε χναυμάτιόν τε σεσιλφιωμένον.
ἑφθά τ' ἔπειτα κρέ' ὀπτά τ' ἄλλ' ἐρίφων τε καὶ ἀρνῶν,
ἅ θ' ὑπερωμόκρεως[11] χορδὰ γλυκίστα
e μιξεριφαρνογενής, ἃν δὴ φιλέοντι θεοί, τοῦτ', ὦ φιλότας, . . . ἔσθοις κε· λαγῷά τ' ἔπειτ' ἀλεκτρυόνων τε νεοσσοί.
περδίκων φάσσεων τε χύδαν ἤδη δὲ παρεβάλλετο θερμὰ πολλὰ . . .

with frosting, large as the pot. This is called the 'navel of the feast' by you and me, I ween. Last there came—the gods are my witnesses—a monstrous slice of tunny, baked hot, from over the sea where it was carved with knives from the meatiest part of the belly. Were it ours ever to assist at the task, great would be our joy. Yet even where we were wanting, the feast was complete. Where it is possible to tell the full tale, my powers still hold, and yet no one could recount truly to you all the dishes that came before us. I nearly missed a hot entrail, after which came in the intestine of a home-bred pig, a chine, and a rump with hot dumplings. And the slave set before us the head, boiled whole, and split in two, of a milk-fed kid all steaming; then boiled meat-ends, and with them skin-white ribs, snouts, heads, feet, and a tenderloin spiced with silphium. And other meats there were, of kid and lamb, boiled and roast, and sweetest morsel of underdone entrails from kids and lambs mixed, such as the gods love, and you, my love, would gladly eat. Afterwards there was jugged hare, and young cockerels, and many hot portions of partridges and ring-doves were now lavishly laid beside us. Loaves

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[1] *κακκάβου γλυκυόξεις* Hartung: *κακάκακκάβου γλυκυου όξιος* A.

[2] *ὕστατα* Bergk: *εσταδα* A: *εὐσταδά* Herm. Barbarus.

[3] *τέμαχος θύννου* Schmidt: *τιθεμος θυγμοῦ* A.

[4] *θερμοῦ ὅθι γλυφάνοις* Bergk: *θερμὸν ὅθεν γλυφις* A.

[5] *ἀπ' αὐτᾶς τᾶς ὑπογαστριδίας* Kaibel: *ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπογαστρίδας* A.

[6] *ἐπαμύνειν* Bergk: *ἐπαμυν* A.

[7] Bergk: *οὐθὲν* A.

[8] *ὅσα . . . κἄγωγ'* Kaibel: *ὅτε παλάξαι δύνατ' ἐπικρατέως ἔγωγ'* A.

[9] Unintelligible.

[10] *γαλακτοτρόφου* Kaibel: *ἀλεκτοτρόφου* A.

[11] *ἅ θ' ὑπερωμόκρεως* Bergk: *αθυπερωμακαρὸς* A.

καὶ μαλακοπτυχέων ἄρτων. ὁμοσύζυγα δὲ ξανθόν
τ᾿ ἐπεισῆλθεν μέλι καὶ γάλα σύμπακτον,
τό κε τυρὸν ἅπας τις
ἦμεν ἔφασχ᾿ ἁπαλόν, κἠγὼν ἐφάμαν. ὅτε δ᾿ ἤδη
βρωτύος ἠδὲ ποτᾶτος ἐς κόρον ἦμεν ἑταῖροι,
τῆνα μὲν ἐξαπάειρον δμῶες, ἔπειτα δὲ παῖδες
νίπτρ᾿ ἔδοσαν κατὰ χειρῶν.[1]

Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τρίτῳ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου
τὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀναγράφων συμπόσιον τῆς
f τελευταίας Αἰγύπτου βασιλευσάσης, γημαμένης δ᾿
Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ
φησὶν οὕτως· "ἀπαντήσασα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα
ἐν Κιλικίᾳ παρεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ βασιλικὸν
συμπόσιον, ἐν ᾧ πάντα χρύσεα καὶ λιθοκόλλητα
περιττῶς ἐξειργασμένα ταῖς τέχναις· ἦσαν δέ, φησί,
καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι ἁλουργέσι καὶ διαχρύσοις ἐμπεπετασμένοι
ὕφεσι. καὶ δώδεκα τρίκλινα διαστρώσασα
ἐκάλεσε τὸν Ἀντώνιον μεθ᾿ ὧν ἐβούλετο ἡ
148 Κλεοπάτρα. τοῦ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὄψεως
ἐκπλαγέντος ὑπομειδιάσασα ταῦτ᾿ ἔφη πάντα
δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς αὔριον παρεκάλει συνδειπνῆσαι
πάλιν ἥκοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων·
ὅτε καὶ πολλῷ κρεῖττον διακοσμήσασα τὸ
συμπόσιον ἐποίησε φανῆναι τὰ πρῶτα μικρά, καὶ
πάλιν καὶ ταῦτα ἐδωρήσατο. τῶν δ᾿ ἡγεμόνων
ἐφ᾿ ᾗ ἕκαστος κατέκειτο κλίνῃ καὶ τὰ κυλικεῖα
καθὼς ταῖς στρωμναῖς ἐμεμέριστο, ἑκάστῳ φέρειν
ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄφοδον τοῖς μὲν ἐν
b ἀξιώμασι φορεῖα σὺν τοῖς κομίζουσι, τοῖς πλείοσι

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[1] For the remainder of the poem see Athen. 409 e.

of bread there were, light and nicely folded; and companioning these there came in also yellow honey and curds, and as for the cheese—every one would avow that it was tender, and I too thought so. And when, by this time, we comrades had reached our fill of food and drink, the thralls removed the viands, and boys poured water over our hands."

Socrates of Rhodes, in the third book of the *Civil War*,[a] describes the banquet given by Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, who married the Roman general, Antony, in Cilicia. His words are: "Meeting Antony in Cilicia, Cleopatra arranged in his honour a royal symposium, in which the service was entirely of gold and jewelled vessels made with exquisite art; even the walls, says Socrates, were hung with tapestries made of purple and gold threads. And having spread twelve triclinia, Cleopatra invited Antony and his chosen friends. He was overwhelmed with the richness of the display; but she quietly smiled and said that all these things were a present for him; she also invited him to come and dine with her again on the morrow, with his friends and his officers. On this occasion she provided an even more sumptuous symposium by far, so that she caused the vessels which had been used on the first occasion to appear paltry; and once more she presented him with these also. As for the officers, each was allowed to take away the couch on which he had reclined; even the sideboards, as well as the spreads for the couches, were divided among them. And when they departed, she furnished litters for the guests of high rank, with

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[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 326.

δὲ καταργύροις σκευαῖς κεκοσμημένους ἵππους, πᾶσι δὲ λαμπτηροφόρους παῖδας Αἰθίοπας παρέστησε. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ταλαντιαίους εἰς ῥόδα μισθοὺς διέδωκε,[1] καὶ κατεστρώθη ἐπὶ πηχυαῖα[2] βάθη τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν ἀνδρώνων[3] ἐμπεπετασμένων δικτύων τοῖς ἕλιξιν."

Ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν Ἀθήναις
μετὰ ταῦτα διατρίψαντα περίοπτον ὑπὲρ τὸ
θέατρον κατασκευάσαντα σχεδίαν χλωρᾷ πεπυκασμένην
ὕλῃ, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Βακχικῶν ἄντρων
c γίνεται, ταύτης τύμπανα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ
ἄλλ' ἀθύρματα Διονυσιακὰ ἐξαρτήσαντα
μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ κατακλινόμενον μεθύσκεσθαι,
λειτουργούντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας
μεταπεμφθέντων ἀκροαμάτων συνηθροισμένων ἐπὶ
τὴν θέαν τῶν Πανελλήνων. " μετεβαινε δ' ἐνίοτε,
φησίν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν
λαμπάσι δᾳδουχουμένης πάσης τῆς Ἀθηναίων
πόλεως. καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτὸν Διόνυσον
ἀνακηρύττεσθαι κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας." καὶ
d Γάιος δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ Καλλίκολα προσ-
αγορευθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ γεννηθῆναι οὐ
μόνον ὠνομάζετο νέος Διόνυσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
Διονυσιακὴν πᾶσαν ἐνδύνων στολὴν προῄει καὶ
οὕτως ἐσκευασμένος ἐδίκαζεν.

Εἰς ταῦτα ἔστιν ἀποβλέποντας τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πενίαν, λαμβάνοντας πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Θηβαίοις δεῖπνα, περὶ ὧν

[1] διέδωκε Meineke: δέδωκε A.

[2] πηχυαῖα Toup: πηχυα A.

[3] ἀνδρώνων Casaubon: δένδρων A.

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[a] 1½ feet.

bearers, while for the greater number she provided horses gaily caparisoned with silver-plated harness, and for all she sent along Aethopian slaves to carry the torches. On the fourth day she distributed fees, amounting to a talent, for the purchase of roses, and the floors of the dining-rooms were strewn with them to the depth of a cubit,[a] in net-like festoons spread over all."

He also records that Antony himself, on a later visit to Athens, erected a scaffold in plain sight above the theatre, and roofed with green boughs, like the "caves"[b] built for Bacchic revels; on this he hung tambourines, fawnskins, and other Dionysiac trinkets of all sorts, where he reclined in company with his friends and drank from early morning, being entertained by artists summoned from Italy, while Greeks from all parts assembled to see the spectacle. "And sometimes," Socrates continues, "he even shifted the place of his revels to the top of the Acropolis, while the entire city of Athens was illuminated with torches hung from the roofs. And he gave orders that henceforth he should be proclaimed as Dionysus throughout all the cities." So, too, the Emperor Gaius, who had the cognomen Caligula[c] from the circumstance that he was born in camp, was named "the new Dionysus," and not only that, but he also assumed the entire garb of Dionysus, and made royal progresses and sat in judgement thus arrayed.

Viewing all this, which surpasses what we have, we may well admire Greek poverty, having also before our eyes the dinners of the Thebans, an

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[b] Probably the terrace where the choregic monument of Thrasyllus stood, now a Christian shrine.

[c] Lat. *caliga*, a military boot.

Κλείταρχος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστοριῶν, διηγούμενος καὶ ὅτι "ὁ πᾶς αὐτῶν πλοῦτος ηὑρέθη μετὰ τὴν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς
e πόλεως κατασκαφὴν ἐν ταλάντοις τετρακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντά, φησίν, ὅτι τε μικρόψυχοι ἦσαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν λίχνοι, παρασκευάζοντες ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις θρῖα καὶ ἑψητοὺς καὶ ἀφύας καὶ ἐγκρασιχόλους καὶ ἀλλᾶντας καὶ σχελίδας καὶ ἔτνος· οἷσι Μαρδόνιον εἱστίασε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα Περσῶν Ἀτταγῖνος[1] ὁ Φρύνωνος, ὅν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ μεγάλως πλούτῳ
f παρεσκευάσθαι. ἡγοῦμαι δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιεγένοντο οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέησε τοῖς Ἕλλησι περὶ Πλαταιὰς παρατάττεσθαι ἀπολωλόσιν ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τροφῶν."

Ἀρκαδικὸν δὲ δεῖπνον διαγράφων ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἑκαταῖος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Γενεαλογιῶν μάζας φησὶν εἶναι καὶ ὕεα κρέα. Ἁρμόδιος δὲ ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλειαν Νομίμων "ὁ κατασταθείς, φησί, παρὰ Φιγαλεῦσι σίταρχος ἔφερε τῆς ἡμέρας οἴνου τρεῖς χόας καὶ ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον καὶ τυροῦ πεντάμνουν καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πρὸς
149 τὴν ἄρτυσιν τῶν ἱερείων ἁρμόττοντα. ἡ δὲ πόλις παρεῖχεν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν χορῶν τρία πρόβατα καὶ μάγειρον ὑδριαφόρον τε καὶ τραπέζας καὶ βάθρα πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν παρασκευήν, τὴν δὲ[2] τῶν περὶ τὸν μάγειρον σκευῶν ὁ χορηγός. τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν τοιοῦτο· τυρὸς καὶ

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[1] Ἀτταγῖνος Herodotus: αὔταμνος A.
[2] τὴν δὲ Kaibel: πλὴν A.

account of which is given by Cleitarchus in the first book of his *History of Alexander*.[a] He says that "after the demolition of their city by Alexander, their entire wealth was found to be under 440 talents; he further says that they were mean-spirited and stingy where food was concerned, preparing for their meals mincemeat in leaves, and boiled vegetables, anchovies, and other small fish, sausages, beef-ribs, and pease-porridge. With these, Attaginus, the son of Phrynon, entertained Mardonius together with fifty other Persians, and Herodotus says in the ninth book[b] that Attaginus was well supplied with riches. I believe that they could not have won the battle, and that the Greeks need not have met them in battle-array at Plataeae, seeing that they already had been done to death by such food."

In describing an Arcadian dinner, the Milesian Hecataeus, in the third book of his *Genealogies*,[c] says that it consisted of barley-cakes and swine's flesh. And Harmodius of Lepreum, in his work on the *Customs of Phigaleia*,[d] says: "The one who is appointed victualler among the Phigaleians used to supply daily three pitchers of wine, a bushel and a half of barley-meal, five pounds of cheese, and all the other things appropriate for seasoning the meat. The city, on its part, furnished each of the two choruses with three sheep, a cook,[e] a rack for water-jars, tables, benches to sit on, and all similar equipment, while the choregus[f] supplied the utensils for the cook. Now the meal consisted of cheese and a

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[a] Page 76 Müller.
[b] Chap. 16.
[c] *F.H.G.* i. 28.
[d] *Ibid.* iv. 411.
[e] Who was also butcher.
[f] A citizen designated to pay for the training and equipment of a chorus.

φυστὴ μᾶζα νόμου χάριν ἐπὶ χαλκῶν κανῶν τῶν
παρά τισι καλουμένων μαζονόμων, ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας
εἰληφότων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν· ὁμοῦ δὲ τῇ μάζῃ καὶ
b τῷ τυρῷ σπλάγχνον καὶ ἅλες προσφαγεῖν. καθαγισάντων
δὲ ταῦτα ἐν κεραμέᾳ[1] κοτταβίδι πιεῖν
ἑκάστῳ μικρόν, καὶ ὁ προσφέρων ἂν εἶπεν 'εὐδειπνίας.'[2]
εἶτα δ' εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ζωμὸς καὶ περίκομμα,
πρόσχερα δὲ ἑκάστῳ δύο κρέα. ἐνόμιζον
δ' ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς δείπνοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις
μαζῶσι—τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ Διονυσιακὴ
σύνοδος ἔχει τοὔνομα—τοῖς ἐσθίουσι τῶν νέων
ἀνδρικώτερον ζωμόν τ' ἐγχεῖν πλείω καὶ μάζας
καὶ ἄρτους παραβάλλειν. γενναῖος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος
c ἐκρίνετο καὶ ἀνδρώδης ὑπάρχειν· θαυμαστὸν γὰρ
ἦν καὶ περιβόητον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ πολυφαγία.
μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον σπονδὰς ἐποιοῦντο οὐκ ἀπονιψάμενοι
τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ' ἀποματτόμενοι τοῖς
ψωμοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀπομαγδαλίαν ἕκαστος ἀπέφερε,
τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἕνεκα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμφόδοις γινομένων
νυκτερινῶν φόβων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν
παιὰν ᾄδεται. ὅταν δὲ τοῖς ἥρωσι θύωσι, βουθυσία
μεγάλη γίνεται καὶ ἑστιῶνται πάντες μετὰ

[1] *κεραμέᾳ* Athen. 479 c: *κεραμείαι* A.

[2] *εὐδειπνίας* Dobree: *ευδειπνιαις* A: *ευδειπνειας* Athen. 479 d.

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[a] Two etymologies are here confused. *μαζονόμοι* is from *νέμω*, "dispense," not *νόμος*, "custom."

[b] Equivalent to "prosit" or "bon appétit."

[c] Eustathius, 728. 18, adds an explanation of "night terrors," "the cause of which was attributed to Hecate." Eustathius evidently believed that these morsels were intended to placate the goddess whose dread powers availed most at night. The adage *canis vivens e magdalis*, "a dog living on crumbs," was suggested by the *ordinary* practice, which Athenaeus expressly says was not followed here, of

lightly kneaded barley-cake served, in deference to custom (*nomos*), on bronze trenchers called in some authors *mazonomoi* (' barley-cake servers '), having received their name from this use.[a] Along with the cake and the cheese were an entrail and salt to eat with it. Having consecrated this food, each man was permitted to drink a little from an earthenware basin, and the one offering it would say ' Good dinner to you ! '[b] Thereupon all shared alike a broth and a hash, and to each diner was given besides two slices of meat. At all their meals, but especially in those called *mazones* (' barley-feeds '), which name the guild of Dionysus retains even to this day, they held to the custom that for the more hearty eaters among the young men a larger quantity of broth should be poured out, and more barley-cakes and wheat bread should be placed before them. For such a young man was held to be manly and a thoroughbred, since hearty eating was admired and praised among them. After dinner they offered libations without washing their hands first, but wiping them off with pieces of bread ; each man then carried away the crumbs. This practice they observed against the dangers which occur in the streets at night.[c] After the libation they sing a paean. But when they sacrifice to the spirits of the departed, there is a great slaughter of cattle, and all are feasted in company

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wiping the fingers on bits of bread and tossing these bits to the dogs. Nor is Schweighäuser right in explaining that the morsels carried away were intended to divert the ferocity of dogs met on the way home, except in so far as dogs, which were sacred to Hecate, might incarnate her mysterious nocturnal power. Capps conjectures *φορβῶν* for *φόβων*, " to have food at night while on patrol-duty." But *φορβή* is a poetic word, *τροφή*, as in modern Greek, being the generic word in later writers.

τῶν δούλων· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐν ταῖς ἑστιάσεσι μετὰ
τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ λίθων καθήμενοι γυμνοὶ συνδειπνοῦσιν.”
d Θεόπομπος δ’ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ
τῶν Φιλιππικῶν “οἱ Ἀρκάδες, φησίν, ἐν
ταῖς ἑστιάσεσιν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς δεσπότας καὶ
τοὺς δούλους καὶ μίαν πᾶσι τράπεζαν παρασκευάζουσι
καὶ τὰ σιτία πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ μέσον παρατιθέασι
καὶ κρατῆρα τὸν αὐτὸν πᾶσι κιρνᾶσι.”

“Παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις,” ὥς φησιν Ἑρμείας
ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Γρυνείου Ἀπόλλωνος,
“ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι γενεθλίοις Ἑστίας
Πρυτανίτιδος καὶ Διονυσίοις, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τοῦ
Κωμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρει, εἰσιόντες πάντες
e ἐν στολαῖς λευκαῖς, ἃς μέχρι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι
πρυτανικὰς ἐσθῆτας. καὶ κατακλιθέντες ἐπανίστανται
εἰς γόνατα τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος τὰς πατρίους
εὐχὰς καταλέγοντος συσπένδοντες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
κατακλιθέντες λαμβάνουσιν ἕκαστος οἴνου κοτύλας
δύο πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ τε Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος
καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου· τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ διπλοῦς ὁ
οἶνος μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων δίδοται. ἔπειτα
ἑκάστῳ παρατίθεται ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἰς πλάτος
f πεποιημένος, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἐπίκειται ἄρτος ἕτερος, ὃν
κριβανίτην καλοῦσι, καὶ κρέας ὕειον καὶ λεκάριον
πτισάνης ἢ λαχάνου τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν γινομένου
ᾠά τε δύο καὶ τυροῦ τροφαλὶς σῦκά τε ξηρὰ καὶ
πλακοῦς καὶ στέφανος. καὶ ὃς ἂν ἔξω τι τούτων
ἱεροποιὸς παρασκευάσῃ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμούχων ζημιοῦται,
ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς σιτουμένοις ἐν πρυτανείῳ
ἔξωθεν προσεισφέρειν τι βρώσιμον ἔξεστι, μόνα δὲ
ταῦτα καταναλίσκουσι, τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τοῖς

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[a] *F.H.G.* i. 319.

[b] *Ibid.* ii. 80.

with their slaves; at these festival banquets the boys dine with their fathers, sitting without cloaks on the stones." And Theopompus, in the forty-sixth book of his *History of Philip*,[a] says that "the Arcadians entertain at their celebrations masters and slaves, setting one table before them all; they freely serve food for all to share, and mix the same bowl for all."

"In Naucratis," as Hermeias says in the second book *On the Gryneian Apollo*,[b] "the people dine in the town hall (*prytaneion*)[c] on the natal day of Hestia Prytanitis and at the festival of Dionysus, and again at the great gathering in honour of the Comaean Apollo, all appearing in white robes which even to this day they call their 'prytanic' clothes. After reclining they rise again, and kneeling, join in pouring a libation, while the herald, acting as priest, recites the traditional prayers. After this they recline, and all receive a pint of wine excepting the priests of Pythian Apollo and of Dionysus; for to each of these latter the wine is given in double quantity, as well as the portions of everything else. Thereupon each diner is served with a loaf of pure wheat bread moulded flat, upon which lies another loaf which they call oven-bread[d]; also a piece of swine's flesh, a small bowl of barley gruel or of some vegetable in its season, two eggs, a bit of fresh cheese, some dried figs, a flat-cake, and a wreath. Any manager of the festival who provides more than these viands is fined by the censors, and what is more, neither are those who dine in the town hall permitted to bring in anything to eat, but they eat these foods alone, giving a share of what remains to

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[c] *Cf.* 185 c, note a.

[d] *Cf.* 109 f.

150 οἰκέταις μεταδιδόντες. ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἡμέραις
πάσαις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔξεστι τῶν σιτουμένων τῷ
βουλομένῳ ἀνελθόντι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον δειπνεῖν,
οἴκοθεν παρασκευάσαντα αὑτῷ λάχανόν τι ἢ τῶν
ὀσπρίων καὶ τάριχος ἢ ἰχθύν, κρέως δὲ χοιρείου
βραχύτατον, καὶ τούτων μεταλαμβάνων . . .[1] κοτύλην
οἴνου. γυναικὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστιν εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ
πρυτανεῖον ἢ μόνῃ τῇ αὐλητρίδι. οὐκ εἰσφέρεται
δὲ οὐδὲ ἀμὶς εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον. ἐὰν δέ τις
Ναυκρατιτῶν γάμους ἑστιᾷ, ὡς ἐν τῷ γαμικῷ
νόμῳ γέγραπται, ἀπείρηται ᾠὰ καὶ μελίπηκτα
b δίδοσθαι." τίς δὲ ἡ τούτων αἰτία Οὐλπιανὸς ἡμᾶς
διδάσκειν δίκαιος.

Λυκέας[2] δ' ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς προκρίνων τὰ
Αἰγυπτιακὰ δεῖπνα τῶν Περσικῶν "Αἰγυπτίων
ἐπιστρατευσάντων, φησίν, ἐπὶ Ὦχον τὸν Περσῶν
βασιλέα καὶ νικηθέντων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αἰχμάλωτος
ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεύς, ὁ Ὦχος αὐτὸν φιλανθρώπως
ἄγων ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. τῆς οὖν
παρασκευῆς γενομένης λαμπρᾶς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος
κατεγέλα ὡς εὐτελῶς τοῦ Πέρσου διαιτωμένου.
c 'εἰ δὲ θέλεις εἰδέναι, ἔφη, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πῶς δεῖ
σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς εὐδαίμονας βασιλέας, ἐπίτρεψον τοῖς
ἐμοῖς ποτε γενομένοις μαγείροις παρασκευάσαι σοι
Αἰγύπτιον δεῖπνον.' καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐπεὶ παρεσκευάσθη,
ἡσθεὶς ὁ Ὦχος τῷ δείπνῳ 'κακὸν
κακῶς σε, ἔφη, ὦ Αἰγύπτιε, ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί,
ὅστις δεῖπνα τοιαῦτα καταλιπὼν ἐπεθύμησας
θοίνης εὐτελεστέρας.'" τίνα δ' ἦν τὰ Αἰγύπτια
δεῖπνα Πρωταγορίδης ἐν τῷ α' περὶ Δαφνικῶν

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[1] Lacuna marked by Casaubon.

[2] Λυκέας Brunck, *cf.* Athen. 560 e, 616 d: λυγκεὺς AC.

the slaves. But on all other days of the year any diner who wishes may go up to the town-hall and eat, after preparing at home for his own use a green or leguminous vegetable, some salt-fish or fresh fish and a very small piece of pork; sharing these . . . (he receives) a half-pint of wine. No woman may enter the town-hall except the flute-girl. Nor is it allowed to bring a chamber-pot into the town-hall either. If a Naucratite gives a wedding-banquet, it is forbidden, following the prescription of the marriage law, to serve eggs and honey-cakes." As for the origin of these practices, Ulpian is the right man to inform us!

Lyceas, in his *Egyptian History*, esteems the banquets of the Egyptians more highly than the Persian, and says: "The Egyptians undertook a campaign against Ochus, king of Persia, but were defeated. Their king was taken prisoner, but Ochus treated him kindly and even summoned him to dinner. But though the arrangements for the dinner were sumptuous, the Egyptian laughed at them, feeling that the Persian lived very frugally. 'If you would know, O King,' said he, 'how a rich king should eat, permit the cooks who were once mine to prepare for you an Egyptian dinner.' The order was given, and when the dinner had been prepared, Ochus was delighted with it, but said, 'May the gods, O Egyptian, bring you, evil man that you are, to an evil end, for you turned your back on such splendid dinners as these and conceived a desire for cheaper food.'"[a] What Egyptian dinners were like Protagorides shows in the first book of his *Games at*

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[a] The same story is told of the Spartan Pausanias, 138 c, from Herodotus, ix. 82.

ἀγώνων διδάσκει ἡμᾶς λέγων οὕτως· “τρίτη δέ
d ἐστιν ἰδέα δείπνων Αἰγυπτιακὴ τραπεζῶν μὲν οὐ
παρατιθεμένων, πινάκων δὲ περιφερομένων.”

Παρὰ δὲ Γαλάταις φησὶ Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ
ἐπὶ[1] ταῖς τραπέζαις ἄρτους πολλοὺς κατακεκλασμένους
παρατίθεσθαι χύδην καὶ κρέατα ἐκ τῶν
λεβήτων, ὧν οὐδεὶς γεύεται εἰ μὴ πρότερον θεάσηται
τὸν βασιλέα εἰ ἥψατο τῶν παρακειμένων.
ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ ὁ αὐτὸς Φύλαρχος Ἀριάμνην φησὶ
τὸν Γαλάτην πλουσιώτατον ὄντα ἐπαγγείλασθαι
ἑστιᾶσαι Γαλάτας πάντας ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ τοῦτο
e συντελέσαι ποιήσαντα οὕτως. κατὰ τόπους τῆς
χώρας[2] τὰς ἐπικαιροτάτας τῶν ὁδῶν διέλαβε
σταθμοῖς ἐπί τε τούτοις ἐκ χαράκων καὶ τῶν
καλάμων τῶν τε οἰσυίνων ἐπεβάλλετο σκηνὰς
χωρούσας ἀνὰ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας καὶ πλείους
ἔτι, καθὼς ἂν ἐκποιῶσιν οἱ τόποι τό τ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν
πόλεων δέξασθαι καὶ τῶν κωμῶν μέλλον ἐπιρρεῖν
πλῆθος. ἐνταῦθα δὲ λέβητας ἐπέστησε κρεῶν
παντοδαπῶν μεγάλους, οὓς πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ
τοῦ μέλλειν μεταπεμψάμενος τεχνίτας ἐξ ἄλλων
f πόλεων ἐχαλκεύσατο. θύματα δὲ καταβάλλεσθαι
ταύρων καὶ συῶν καὶ προβάτων τε καὶ τῶν[3] λοιπῶν
κτηνῶν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πολλά, πίθους τε οἴνου
παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ πλῆθος ἀλφίτων πεφυραμένων.
“καὶ οὐ μόνον, φησίν, οἱ παραγινόμενοι τῶν
Γαλατῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπέλαυον,[4]
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παριόντες ξένοι ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐφεστηκότων παίδων οὐκ ἠφίεντο ἕως ἂν μεταλάβωσι
τῶν παρασκευασθέντων.”

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[1] ἐπὶ Kaibel: ἐν AC.

[2] After χώρας A has καί, deleted by Kaibel.

Daphne,[a] when he says: "A third kind of dinner is the Egyptian, where no tables are placed beside the guests, but platters are carried round among them."

Among the Celts, says Phylarchus in the sixth book,[b] many loaves of bread are broken up and served lavishly on the tables, as well as pieces of meat taken from the cauldrons; no one tastes these without looking first to see whether the king has touched what is set before him. Again, in Book iii.,[c] the same Phylarchus says that Ariamnes, who was a very rich Celt, publicly promised to entertain all Celts for a year, and he fulfilled this promise by the following method. At various points in their country he set stations along the most convenient highways, where he erected booths of vine-props and poles of reed and osiers, each booth holding four hundred men and even more, according to the space demanded in each station for the reception of the crowds which were expected to stream in from towns and villages. Here he set up large cauldrons, containing all kinds of meat, which he had caused to be forged the year before he intended to give the entertainment, sending for metal-workers from other cities. Many victims were slaughtered daily—bulls, hogs, sheep, and other cattle—casks of wine were made ready, and a large quantity of barley-meal ready mixed. Phylarchus continues: "Not merely the Celts who came from the villages and towns profited by this, but even passing strangers were not allowed to depart by the slaves who served, until they had had a share of the food which had been prepared."

[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 484. [b] *Ibid.* i. 336. [c] *Ibid.* 334.

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[3] τῶν added by Meineke.
[4] ἀπέλαυον Dindorf: ἀπήλαυον AC.

Θρᾳκίων δὲ δείπνων μνημονεύει Ξενοφῶν ἐν
ζ'[1] Ἀναβάσεως τὸ παρὰ Σεύθῃ διαγράφων συμπόσιον
151 ἐν τούτοις· “ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ
δεῖπνον πάντες (τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον ἦν καθημένοις
κύκλῳ), ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰσηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν.
οὗτοι δὲ ὅσον εἴκοσι κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων
καὶ ἄρτοι ζύμητες μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι
ἦσαν πρὸς τοῖς κρέασι. μάλιστα δ' αἱ[2] τράπεζαι
κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν.
καὶ πρῶτος τοῦτ' ἐποίει Σεύθης· ἀνελόμενος τοὺς
παρ' αὐτῷ κειμένους ἄρτους διέκλα κατὰ μικρὰ
καὶ διερρίπτει οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καὶ τὰ κρέα
ὡσαύτως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ καταλιπών.
b καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίουν, καθ' οὓς
καὶ αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκὰς δέ τις Ἀρύστας
ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἶα
χαίρειν, λαβὼν δ' εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον
ἄρτον καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐδείπνει.
κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο.
ὁ δὲ Ἀρύστας ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ
οἰνοχόος ἦν, εἶπεν ἰδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκ ἔτι
δειπνοῦντα· ‘ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δός· σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη,
ἐγὼ δ' οὔπω.’ ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.
c ἐπεὶ δὲ προὐχώρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θρᾷξ
ἵππον ἔχων λευκὸν καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν
‘προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, ἔφη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον
δωροῦμαι, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ διώκων ὃν ἂν θέλῃς αἱρήσεις
καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δείσῃς τὸν πολέμιον.’
ἄλλος παῖδα εἰσαγαγὼν οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προ-

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[1] ζ' Schweighäuser: ἓξ AC.
[2] δ' αἱ Xenophon: δὲ A.

Thracian dinners are mentioned by Xenophon in the seventh book of the *Anabasis*,[a] describing the symposium at the house of Seuthes in these words: "After all had entered to partake of the dinner (where they sat in a circle), three-legged tables were immediately brought in for all. These, to the number of about twenty, were covered with meat piled high, and large loaves of leavened bread were attached by skewers to the meat. Special care was taken always to set the courses opposite the strangers, for that was the custom. Seuthes was the first to do this. He would take the loaves lying in front of him, break them into small pieces, and toss them to whom he liked; the meat likewise, leaving only enough to taste for himself. The others also before whom the tables were set followed his example. But an Arcadian named Arystas, a great eater, dispensed with the ceremony of the toss, and seizing in his hands a three-pound loaf and some meat, he placed them on his lap and proceeded to eat. They passed round drinking-horns containing wine, and all took them. But when the cup-bearer came to Arystas with the drinking-horn, he, seeing that Xenophon was no longer eating, said, 'Give it to him; for he is not busy any longer, whereas I haven't got time yet.' Thereupon laughter arose. As the drinking proceeded a Thracian entered with a white horse, and grasping a full horn he said, 'Here's to you, Seuthes; accept this horse as a present, for upon it, when you pursue, you will catch whomsoever you desire, and when you retreat, you will never be afraid of the enemy.' Another, in like manner, brought in and presented him with a slave as he

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[a] Chap. 3. 21.

πίνων καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί, καὶ Τιμασίων
προπίνων φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ κοπίδα[1] ἀξίαν
δέκα μνῶν. Γνήσιππος δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς
d εἶπεν ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἴη νόμος κάλλιστος τοὺς μὲν
ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ
μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα. Ξενοφῶν δὲ
ἀνέστη θαρσαλέως καὶ δεξάμενος τὸ κέρας εἶπεν·
‘ἐγώ σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, δίδωμι ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς
ἐμοὺς τούτους ἑταίρους φίλους εἶναι πιστοὺς καὶ
οὐδένα ἄκοντα. καὶ νῦν πάρεισιν οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν
βουλόμενοι.’ καὶ ὁ Σεύθης ἀναστὰς
συνέπιε[2] καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ
κέρας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε οἵοις
e σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοείαις
ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἱονεὶ μάγαδιν[3] σαλπίζοντες.”

Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις αἷς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως ἧς προῄρητο φιλοσοφίας πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔθιμα καὶ νόμιμα ἀναγράφων· “Κελτοί, φησί, τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται χόρτον ὑποβάλλοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ξυλίνων μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπηρμένων. ἡ τροφὴ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἄρτοι μὲν ὀλίγοι, κρέα δὲ πολλὰ ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ὀπτὰ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθράκων ἢ ὀβελίσκων. προσφέρονται δὲ ταῦτα καθαρείως μέν, λεοντωδῶς δέ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις αἴροντες ὅλα μέλη καὶ ἀποδάκνοντες, ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ τι δυσαπόσπαστον,

[1] ταπίδα (“carpet”) Xenophon.
[2] συνεξέπιε Xenophon.
[3] μαγάδι Xenophon.

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[a] See crit. note.
[b] About £50, silver.

drank his health, and still another gave him garments for his wife. Timasion, in proposing a toast to him, gave him a silver saucer and a scimitar[a] worth ten minae.[b] Then an Athenian named Gnesippus arose and said that there was an excellent custom of long standing, that the rich should honour the king with presents, but to those who were not rich the king should give presents. But Xenophon got up with a resolute air, and as he took the drinking-horn he said: 'I give myself and my comrades here to you, Seuthes, to be your trusted friends, and not one of us comes unwillingly. And to-day they appear before you with no other request, but desire that they may labour and risk danger in your behalf.' Then Seuthes arose and drank with Xenophon, and with him also emptied the horn upon the ground. After this there entered persons who played tunes on the horns used for signalling, and who sounded off measures, and as it were flageolet notes, on trumpets made of raw ox-hides."

Poseidonius (he of the Porch[c]), in the *Histories* which he compiled, collected many usages and customs of many peoples germane to the philosophic tenets which he held; and he writes[d]: "The Celts place hay on the ground when they serve their meals, which they take on wooden tables raised only slightly from the ground. Their food consists of a few loaves of bread, but of large quantities of meat prepared in water or roasted over coals or on spits. This they eat in a cleanly fashion, to be sure, but with a lion-like appetite, grasping whole joints with both hands and biting them off the bone; if, however, any piece proves hard to tear away,

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[c] *i.e.* the Stoic philosopher.

[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 260.

μαχαιρίῳ μικρῷ παρατέμνοντες, ὃ τοῖς κολεοῖς
152 ἐν ἰδίᾳ θήκῃ παράκειται. προσφέρονται δὲ καὶ
ἰχθῦς οἵ τε παρὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς οἰκοῦντες καὶ
παρὰ τὴν ἐντὸς καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, καὶ τούτους
δὲ ὀπτοὺς μετὰ ἁλῶν καὶ ὄξους καὶ κυμίνου·
τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. ἐλαίῳ
δ' οὐ χρῶνται διὰ σπάνιν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσύνηθες
b ἀηδὲς αὐτοῖς φαίνεται. ὅταν δὲ πλείονες συνδειπνῶσι,
κάθηνται μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ, μέσος δὲ ὁ
κράτιστος ὡς ἂν κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, διαφέρων τῶν
ἄλλων ἢ κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν εὐχέρειαν ἢ κατὰ
γένος ἢ κατὰ πλοῦτον. ὁ δ' ὑποδεχόμενος παρ'
αὐτόν, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἑκατέρωθε κατ' ἀξίαν ἧς ἔχουσιν
ὑπεροχῆς. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς θυρεοὺς[1] ὁπλοφοροῦντες
ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω παρεστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι κατὰ
τὴν ἀντικρὺ καθήμενοι κύκλῳ καθάπερ οἱ δεσπόται
συνευωχοῦνται. τὸ δὲ ποτὸν οἱ διακονοῦντες ἐν
ἀγγείοις περιφέρουσιν ἐοικόσι μὲν ἀμβίκοις, ἢ
c κεραμέοις ἢ ἀργυροῖς· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πίνακας ἐφ'
ὧν τὰς τροφὰς προτίθενται τοιούτους ἔχουσιν·
οἱ δὲ χαλκοῦς, οἱ δὲ κάνεα ξύλινα καὶ πλεκτά. τὸ
δὲ πινόμενόν ἐστι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν οἶνος
ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Μασσαλιητῶν χώρας παρακομιζόμενος,
ἄκρατος δ' οὗτος· ἐνίοτε δὲ ὀλίγον
ὕδωρ παραμίγνυται· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις
ζύθος πύρινον μετὰ μέλιτος ἐσκευασμένον, παρὰ
δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καθ' αὐτό· καλεῖται δὲ κόρμα.
ἀπορροφοῦσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποτηρίου κατὰ
d μικρόν, οὐ πλεῖον κυάθου· πυκνότερον δὲ τοῦτο
ποιοῦσι. περιφέρει δὲ ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ

they slice it off with a small knife, which lies at hand in its sheath in a special box. Those who dwell beside rivers or by the inner and outer sea [a] also eat fish baked with salt, vinegar, and cummin. The last they also drop into their wine. They use no olive oil, on account of its rarity, and being unfamiliar, it seems to them unpleasant. When several dine together, they sit in a circle; but the mightiest among them, distinguished above the others for skill in war, or family connexions, or wealth, sits in the middle, like a chorus-leader. Beside him is the host, and next on either side the others according to their respective ranks. Men-at-arms, carrying oblong shields, stand close behind them, while their bodyguards, seated in a circle directly opposite, share in the feast like their masters. The attendants serve the drink in vessels resembling our spouted cups, either of clay or silver. Similar also are the platters which they have for serving food; but others use bronze platters, others still, baskets of wood or plaited wicker. The liquor drunk in the houses of the rich is wine brought from Italy and the country round Marseilles, and is unmixed; though sometimes a little water is added. But among the needier inhabitants a beer is drunk made from wheat, with honey added; the masses drink it plain. It is called *corma*. They sip a little, not more than a small cupful, from the same cup, but they do it rather frequently. The slave carries the drink round from left to right and from right to

[a] The Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

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[1] *θυραιοὺς* A: *θυρεαφόροι* C.

τὰ λαιά· οὕτως διακονοῦνται. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι."

Ἔτι ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγούμενος καὶ τὸν Λουερνίου τοῦ Βιτύιτος πατρὸς[1] πλοῦτον τοῦ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθαιρεθέντος, φησὶ δημαγωγοῦντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐν ἅρματι φέρεσθαι διὰ τῶν πεδίων καὶ διασπείρειν[2] χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ταῖς ἀκολουθούσαις τῶν Κελτῶν μυριάσι φράγμα τε ποιεῖν δωδεκαστάδιον τετράγωνον, ἐν ᾧ πληροῦν
e μὲν ληνοὺς πολυτελοῦς πόματος, παρασκευάζειν δὲ[3] τοσοῦτο βρωμάτων πλῆθος ὥστε ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείονας ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰσερχομένοις τῶν παρασκευασθέντων ἀπολαύειν, ἀδιαλείπτως διακονουμένους. ἀφορίσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ προθεσμίαν ποτὲ τῆς θοίνης ἀφυστερήσαντά τινα τῶν βαρβάρων ποιητὴν[4] ἀφικέσθαι καὶ συναντήσαντα μετὰ ᾠδῆς ὑμνεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ἑαυτὸν δ' ἀποθρηνεῖν ὅτι ὑστέρηκε, τὸν δὲ τερφθέντα θυλάκιον
f αἰτῆσαι χρυσίου καὶ ῥῖψαι αὐτῷ παρατρέχοντι. ἀνελόμενον δ' ἐκεῖνον πάλιν ὑμνεῖν λέγοντα διότι τὰ ἴχνη τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ἧς ἁρματηλατεῖ χρυσὸν καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἀνθρώποις φέρει.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ἱστόρησεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ περὶ Πάρθων διηγούμενός φησιν· "ὁ δὲ καλούμενος φίλος τραπέζης μὲν οὐ κοινωνεῖ,
153 χαμαὶ δ' ὑποκαθήμενος ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς κλίνης κατακειμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ παραβληθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

[1] Βιτυίτου πατὴρ Λουέριος Strabo p. 191.

[2] διασπείρων Strabo: σπείρειν AC.

[3] δὲ Kaibel: τε AC.

[4] For τῶν βαρβάρων ποιητὴν Kaibel conjectured τῶν βάρδων καλουμένων ποιητῶν, "the poets, who are called *bards*."

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[a] The Greeks, however, drank toasts only from left to

left;[a] this is the way in which they are served. They make obeisance to the gods, also, turning towards the right."

Poseidonius again, describing the wealth of Lovernius,[b] father of Bituis, who was deposed by the Romans, says that to win the favour of the mob he rode in a chariot through the fields scattering gold and silver among the myriads of Celts who followed him; he also made an enclosure twelve stades[c] square, in which he set up vats filled with expensive wine, and prepared a quantity of food so great that for several days all who wished might enter and enjoy what was set before them, being served continuously. After he had finally set a limit to the feast, one of the native poets[d] arrived too late; and meeting the chief, he sang his praises in a hymn extolling his greatness and lamenting his own lot in having come late. And the chief, delighted with this, called for a bag of gold and tossed it to the bard as he ran beside him. He picked it up and again sang in his honour, saying that the wheel-tracks made by the chariot on the ground on which he drove bore golden benefits for men.

All this Poseidonius recorded in the twenty-third book. But in the fifth book,[e] in his account of the Parthians, he says: "The subject who enjoys the title of 'king's friend' has no share at his board, but sits on the ground while the king reclines above him on a high couch; he eats dog-fashion what the

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right, and since *καl* or *τε* is wanting with *ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά*, it is almost certain that *καὶ οὐ τὰ λαιά*, "and *not* from right to left," should be read in the text. The use of *καl* before *τοὺς θεοὺς*, instead of a contrasting conjunction, confirms this.

[b] Or Loverius; see crit. note.

[c] About 1½ miles.

[d] See crit. note.

[e] *F.H.G.* iii. 254.

κυνιστὶ σιτεῖται καὶ πολλάκις διὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν
αἰτίαν ἀποσπασθεὶς τοῦ χαμαιπετοῦς δείπνου
ῥάβδοις καὶ ἱμᾶσιν ἀστραγαλωτοῖς μαστιγοῦται
καὶ γενόμενος αἱμόφυρτος τὸν τιμωρησάμενον ὡς
εὐεργέτην ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος πρηνὴς προσπεσὼν
προσκυνεῖ.” ἐν δὲ τῇ ιϛʹ περὶ Σελεύκου διηγούμενος
τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνελθὼν καὶ
πολεμῶν Ἀρσάκει ᾐχμαλωτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου
καὶ ὡς πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῷ Ἀρσάκει διέτριψεν
ἀγόμενος βασιλικῶς, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· “παρὰ
b Πάρθοις ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τήν τε κλίνην
ἐφʼ ἧς μόνος κατέκειτο μετεωροτέραν τῶν ἄλλων
καὶ κεχωρισμένην εἶχε καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν μόνῳ
καθάπερ ἥρωι πλήρη βαρβαρικῶν θοιναμάτων
παρακειμένην.[1]” ἱστορῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἡρακλέωνος
τοῦ Βεροιαίου, ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ Γρυποῦ καλουμένου
Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως προαχθεὶς μικροῦ δεῖν
τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέβαλε τὸν εὐεργέτην, γράφει ἐν
τῇ λδʹ[2] τῶν ἱστοριῶν τάδε· “ἐποιεῖτό τε τῶν
στρατιωτῶν τὰς κατακλίσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους
ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἀνὰ χιλίους δειπνίζων. τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον
ἦν ἄρτος μέγας καὶ κρέας, τὸ δὲ ποτὸν κεκραμένος
c οἶνος οἷος δήποτε ὕδατι ψυχρῷ. διηκόνουν
δὲ ἄνδρες μαχαιροφόροι καὶ σιωπὴ ἦν εὔτακτος.”
ἐν δὲ τῇ βʹ “ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων, φησίν, πόλει ὅταν
εὐωχῶνται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερῷ, δειπνίζοντος
τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν θριαμβεύοντος, καὶ ἡ
παρασκευὴ τῆς εὐωχίας Ἡρακλεωτική ἐστι. δι-

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[1] παρακειμένην Villebrun: παρακειμένων A.

[2] λδʹ Bake: μδʹ, “forty-fourth,” Müller: δʹ A.

king tosses to him, and often, on some slight pretext, he is dragged away from his lowly meal and flogged with staves or knotted straps until, covered with blood, he prostrates himself prone on the floor and does obeisance to his tormentor as to a benefactor." In the sixteenth book,[a] again, he tells the story of King Seleucus; how that he went up into Media and made war on Arsaces, but was taken prisoner by the barbarian and lived a long time at the court of Arsaces, being treated in royal fashion. Poseidonius writes: "Among the Parthians, the king at their banquets occupied a couch on which he reclined alone; it was separated from the other couches and somewhat higher than they; his table was set before him apart, as to a departed spirit, and was laden with native dishes." Writing also about Heracleon of Beroea, the same who after being promoted by King Antiochus, surnamed Grypus, almost ejected his benefactor from his kingdom, he says, in the thirty-fourth book of his *Histories*[b]: "When he feasted his soldiers he caused them, in groups of a thousand, to recline on the ground in the open air. The dinner consisted of a huge loaf and meat, the drink being any kind of wine mixed with cold water. They were served by men wearing daggers, and in strict silence." In the second book[c] he says: "In the Roman capital, whenever they hold a feast in the precinct of Hercules, it is given by the general who for the time being is celebrating a triumph, and the preparation for the banquet is worthy of Hercules[d] himself. For

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[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 258. [b] *Ibid.* 265. [c] *Ibid.* 252.

[d] With a punning reference to the town of Heracleia, of which Poseidonius was a native.

οἰνοχοεῖται μὲν γὰρ οἰνόμελι, τὰ δὲ βρώματα
ἄρτοι μεγάλοι καὶ καπνιστὰ κρέα ἑφθὰ[1] καὶ τῶν
προσφάτως καθιερευθέντων[2] ὀπτὰ δαψιλῆ. παρὰ
d δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς
παρασκευάζονται ἀνθιναί τε στρωμναὶ καὶ ἐκπώματα
ἀργυρᾶ παντοδαπά, καὶ δούλων πλῆθος
εὐπρεπῶν παρέστηκεν ἐσθήσεσι πολυτελέσι κεκοσμημένων.”
Τίμαιος δ’ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν
καὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας φησὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς μέχρι οὗ
ἂν αὐξηθῶσι γυμνὰς διακονεῖσθαι.

Μεγασθένης δ’ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν
τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς φησιν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ παρατίθεσθαι
ἑκάστῳ τράπεζαν, ταύτην δ’ εἶναι ὁμοίαν ταῖς
e ἐγγυθήκαις, καὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τρυβλίον χρυσοῦν,
εἰς ὃ ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
ὄρυζαν ἑφθὴν ὡς ἄν τις ἑψήσειε χόνδρον, ἔπειτα
ὄψα πολλὰ κεχειρουργημένα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς σκευασίαις.
Γερμανοὶ δέ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ
τριακοστῇ, ἄριστον προσφέρονται κρέα μεληδὸν
ὠπτημένα καὶ ἐπιπίνουσι γάλα καὶ τὸν οἶνον
ἄκρατον. Καμπανῶν δέ τινες παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια
f μονομαχοῦσι. Νικόλαος δ’ ὁ Δαμασκηνός, εἷς τῶν
ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων, ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ πρὸς
ταῖς ἑκατὸν τῶν ἱστοριῶν Ῥωμαίους ἱστορεῖ παρὰ
τὸ δεῖπνον συμβάλλειν μονομαχίας, γράφων οὕτως·
“τὰς τῶν μονομάχων θέας οὐ μόνον ἐν πανηγύρεσι
καὶ θεάτροις ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν[3]
παραλαβόντες τὸ ἔθος, ἀλλὰ κἀν ταῖς ἑστιάσεσιν.
ἐκάλουν γοῦν τινες πολλάκις ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τοὺς

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[1] κρέα ἑφθὰ Wilamowitz: ἑφθὰ κρέα AC.

[2] καθιερευθέντων Wilam.: καθιερωθέντων “consecrated” A.

[3] Τυρρηνῶν Musurus: τυράννων A.

honeyed wine flowed copiously throughout the entire meal, and the food consisted of large loaves and boiled smoked meat, as well as roast meat from the freshly sacrificed victims, in extravagant plenty. And among the Etruscans sumptuous tables are prepared twice a day, and richly coloured rugs are spread, and there are silver cups of every kind, and a host of handsome slaves stands by, dressed in rich garments." Timaeus, moreover, in the first book of his *Histories*,[a] adds that the slave girls among them serve naked until they grow to be adults.

Megasthenes, in the second book of his *History of India*,[b] says that among the Indians a table is set before each one at dinner. It resembles a sideboard, and on it is placed a golden bowl into which they first pour their rice, boiled as one would boil groats, and they then add many sauces of meat which have been treated with Indian condiments.[c] But the Germans, as Poseidonius narrates in the thirtieth book,[d] eat for luncheon meat which has been roasted in separate pieces, and they wash it down with milk or wine that is unmixed. Some inhabitants of Campania fight duels during their symposia. And Nicolas of Damascus, a Peripatetic philosopher, in the 110th book of his *Histories*,[e] records that the Romans have gladiatorial fights during a banquet. He writes as follows: "The Romans staged spectacles of fighting gladiators not merely at their festivals and in their theatres, borrowing the custom from the Etruscans, but also at their banquets. At any rate, it often happened that some would invite their friends to dinner, not merely for other

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[a] *F.H.G.* i. 196.
[b] *Ibid.* ii. 423.
[c] Making a "pilaf."
[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 264.
[e] *Ibid.* 417.

φίλους ἐπί τε ἄλλοις καὶ ὅπως ἂν δύο ἢ τρία ζεύγη ἴδοιεν μονομάχων, ὅτε καὶ κορεσθέντες δείπνου καὶ μέθης εἰσεκάλουν τοὺς μονομάχους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἅμα ἐσφάττετο, αὐτοὶ δ᾿ ἐκρότουν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡδόμενοι. 154 ἤδη δέ τις κἀν ταῖς διαθήκαις γέγραφεν γυναῖκας εὐπρεπεστάτας μονομαχῆσαι ἃς ἐκέκτητο, ἕτερος δὲ παῖδας ἀνήβους ἐρωμένους ἑαυτοῦ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ[1] ἠνέσχετο ὁ δῆμος τὴν παρανομίαν ταύτην, ἀλλ᾿ ἄκυρον τὴν διαθήκην ἐποίησεν." Ἐρατοσθένης δ᾿ ἐν πρώτῳ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν τοὺς Τυρρηνούς φησι πρὸς αὐλὸν πυκτεύειν.

[2]Ποσειδώνιος δ᾿ ἐν τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· "Κελτοί, φησίν, ἐνίοτε παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον μονομαχοῦσιν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγερθέντες[3] σκιαμαχοῦσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκροχειρίζονται, b ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τραύματος προίασιν καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐρεθισθέντες, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπισχῶσιν οἱ παρόντες, καὶ ἕως ἀναιρέσεως ἔρχονται. τὸ δὲ παλαιόν, φησίν, ὅτι παρατεθέντων κωλήνων τὸ μηρίον ὁ κράτιστος ἐλάμβανεν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος ἀντιποιήσαιτο, συνίσταντο μονομαχήσοντες μέχρι θανάτου. ἄλλοι δ᾿ ἐν θεάτρῳ λαβόντες ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, c οἱ δὲ οἴνου κεραμίων ἀριθμόν τινα, καὶ πιστωσάμενοι τὴν δόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις φίλοις διαδωρησάμενοι ὕπτιοι ἐκταθέντες ἐπὶ θυρεῶν κεῖνται, καὶ παραστάς τις ξίφει τὸν λαιμὸν ἀποκόπτει."

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[1] The proper order of these words, in the only sense possible here, is ἀλλ᾿ οὐ γὰρ, which the translation renders.

[2] Here A has, in capitals, τῶν εἰς Λ̄ τέλος τοῦ Ζ̄ ἀρ̽ τοῦ Η̄. But Η̄ (Book viii.) probably began at 153 f.

[3] ἀγερθέντες Schweighäuser: ἐγερθέντες AC.

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[a] Frag. 22 Müller.

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 259.

entertainment, but that they might witness two or three pairs of contestants in gladiatorial combat; on these occasions, when sated with dining and drink, they called in the gladiators. No sooner did one have his throat cut than the masters applauded with delight at this feat. And there have even been instances when a man has provided in his will that his most beautiful wives, acquired by purchase, should engage in duels; still another has directed that young boys, his favourites, should do the same. But the provision was in fact disregarded, for the people would not tolerate this outrage, but declared the will void." Eratosthenes, in the first book of his *Olympic Victors*,[a] says that the Etruscans accompany their boxing-matches with the flute.

In the twenty-third book of his *Histories*,[b] Poseidonius says: "The Celts sometimes have gladiatorial contests during dinner. Having assembled under arms, they indulge in sham fights and practise feints with one another; sometimes they proceed even to the point of wounding each other, and then, exasperated by this, if the company does not intervene, they go so far as to kill. In ancient times, he continues, we observe that when whole joints of meat were served the best man received the thigh. But if another claimed it, they stood up to fight it out in single combat to the death. Others, again, would collect silver or gold, or a number of jars of wine from the audience in the theatre, and having exacted a pledge that their award would be carried out, they would decree that the collection be distributed as presents to their dearest relatives; they then stretched themselves on their backs over their shields, and some one standing near would cut

Εὐφορίων δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτω γράφει· "παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προτίθεσθαι πέντε μνᾶς τοῖς ὑπομένειν βουλομένοις τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι πελέκει, ὥστε τοὺς κληρονόμους κομίσασθαι τὸ ἆθλον· καὶ πολλάκις ἀπογραφομένους πλείους δικαιολογεῖσθαι καθ' ὃ δικαιότατός ἐστιν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι."

d Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν α' περὶ νομοθετῶν τῶν μονομαχούντων εὑρετὰς ἀποφαίνει Μαντινεῖς Δημώνακτος ἑνὸς τῶν πολιτῶν συμβουλεύσαντος, καὶ ζηλωτὰς τούτων γενέσθαι Κυρηναίους. Ἔφορος δ' ἐν ἕκτῃ ἱστοριῶν "ἤσκουν, φησί, τὰ πολεμικὰ οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἀρκάδες, τήν τε στολὴν τὴν πολεμικὴν καὶ τὴν ὅπλισιν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὡς εὑρόντων ἐκείνων ἔτι καὶ νῦν Μαντινικὴν ἀποκαλοῦσι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁπλομαχίας μαθήσεις ἐν Μαντινείᾳ πρῶτον e εὑρέθησαν Δημέου τὸ τέχνημα καταδείξαντος." ὅτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἦν τὸ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης εἴρηκεν ἐν Φοινίσσαις οὕτως·

ἐς Οἰδίπου δὲ παῖδε,[1] διπτύχω κόρω,
Ἄρης κατέσκηψ', ἔς τε[2] μονομάχου πάλης
ἀγῶνα νῦν ἑστᾶσιν.

ἔοικεν δὲ πεποιῆσθαι τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μάχη, ἀλλ' ἐκ ῥήματος τοῦ μάχεσθαι μᾶλλον συγκεῖσθαι. ὁπότε γὰρ τὸ μάχη συντιθέμενον τὸ τέλος εἰς ο̅ς̅[3] τρέπει, ὡς ἐν τῷ σύμμαχος, πρωτόμαχος, ἐπίμαχος, f ἀντίμαχος, "φιλόμαχον γένος ἐκ Περσέος[4]" παρὰ

[1] δὲ παῖδε Heringa: δεπαιδε A.
[2] κατέσκηψ', ἔς τε Porson: κατέσκηψέ τε A.
[3] εἰς ο̅ς̅ Coraes: ἴσως A.
[4] Περσέος Boeckh: περσέως A.

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[a] Frag. 23 Müller.
[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 36.
[c] *Ibid.* i. 261.
[d] Kock i. 533.
[e] πάλη, lit. "wrestling."

their throats with a sword." Euphorion of Chalcis, in his *Historical Notes*,[a] writes as follows: "Among the Romans twenty pounds are offered to any who will brave decapitation with an axe, on condition that their heirs receive the prize. And often, when too many are enrolled, they dispute which of them has the best right in each case to have his head cut off."

Hermippus, in Book i. of his work *On Lawgivers*,[b] declares that the Mantineans were inventors of gladiatorial combats, having been counselled thereto by Demonax, one of their citizens; and the Cyrenaeans became imitators of them. And Ephorus says, in the sixth book of his *Histories*[c]: "The Mantineans and Arcadians used to practise the arts of war diligently, and, as a consequence, to this very day people call the ancient military uniform and mode of arming 'Mantinean,' since it is believed that the Mantineans are the inventors. In addition, regular courses of instruction in fighting under arms were first instituted at Mantinea, Demeas being the instructor in the art." And that the custom of single combat was ancient is told by Aristophanes in the *Phoenician Women*[d] in these words: "Warlike fury has swooped upon the sons of Oedipus, brothers twain, and at this moment they stand ready for the match in single combat."[e] It is plain that the noun *monomáchos* ("single fighter") is compounded not from *machê* ("battle") but from the verb *machomai* ("fight"). For whenever a word compounded with *machê* ends in *-os*, as in *sýmmachos* ("ally"), *protómachos* ("champion"), *epímachos* ("open to attack"), *antímachos* ("fighting against") or *philómachos* ("fight-loving")—Pindar[f] has "the fight-loving race sprung

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[f] *P.L.G.*[5] frag. 164.

Πινδάρῳ, τηνικαῦτα προπαροξύνεται· ὁπότε δὲ παροξύνεται, τὸ μάχεσθαι ῥῆμα περιέχει, ὡς ἐν τῷ πυγμάχος, ναυμάχος, “αὐτόν σε Πυλαμάχε πρῶτον” παρὰ Στησιχόρῳ, ὁπλομάχος, τειχομάχος, πυργομάχος.

ὁ δὲ κωμῳδιοποιὸς Ποσείδιππος ἐν Πορνοβοσκῷ φησιν·

ὁ μὴ πεπλευκὼς οὐδὲν ἑόρακεν κακόν·
155 τῶν μονομαχούντων ἐσμὲν ἀθλιώτεροι.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐμονομάχουν καὶ ἐκ προκλήσεως τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήκαμεν. Δίυλλος[1] δ᾽ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς Κάσανδρος ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐπανιὼν καὶ θάψας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν ἐν Αἰγαίαις[2] καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν Κύνναν τὴν Εὐρυδίκης μητέρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιμήσας οἷς προσήκει καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνα[3] ἔθηκεν, εἰς ὃν κατέβησαν τέσσαρες τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

Δημήτριος δ᾽ ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῷ ιε´ τοῦ Τρωι-
b κοῦ διακόσμου “παρὰ Ἀντιόχῳ, φησί, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ προσαγορευθέντι ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ πρὸς ὅπλα ὠρχοῦντο οὐ μόνον οἱ βασιλέως φίλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἡγησιάνακτα τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα ἀπὸ Τρῳάδος τὸν τὰς

[1] Δίυλλος Casaubon: διύαλος A.
[2] Αἰγαίαις AC: Αἰγαῖς Diod. xix. 52. 5.
[3] ἀγῶνα Musurus: ἀγῶνας A.

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[a] *P.L.G.*^{5} frag. 48. The word here cited is an epithet of Ares.
[b] Kock iii. 341.
[c] Possibly in the lost parts of Book I.
[d] As in the *Iliad*.

from Perseus"—in such instances it has the acute accent on the third syllable from the last; but when the compound takes the accent on the syllable next before the last, it contains the verb *machomai*, as in *pygmáchos* ("fist-fighter"), *naumáchos* ("sea-fighter"). "Thyself first, thou Fighter at the gate" (*pylamáchos*), is found in Stesichorus.[a] There are also *hoplomáchos* ("fighting under arms"), *teichomáchos* ("fighting at the wall"), and *pyrgomáchos* ("fighting at the tower").

The comic poet Poseidippus says in *The Pimp*[b]: "He that has never been to sea has never seen trouble at all; we sailors are more to be pitied than gladiators." We have explained in another passage[c] also that prominent men and military leaders used to fight in single combat and that they did this in answer to a challenge.[d] And Diyllus of Athens, in the ninth book of his *Histories*,[e] says that when Cassander returned from Boeotia and held the funeral of the king and queen at Aegaeae, as well as of Cynna, the mother of Eurydice, he not only honoured them with all the other fitting rites, but set up also a contest of single fighters which was entered by four of his soldiers.

Demetrius of Skepsis, in Book xv. of *The Trojan Battle-order*,[f] says: "At the court of Antiochus, surnamed the Great, it was the habit not merely of the king's friends but also of the king himself to dance under arms at dinner. But when it became the turn of Hegesianax to dance—the historian from

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[e] *F.H.G.* ii. 361; the occasion was the state funeral of Arridaeus and Eurydice, murdered by order of Olympias, 317 B.C. Cynna had been assassinated by Alcetas. All three were buried in the royal tombs at Aegae.

[f] Frag. 7 Gaede.

ἱστορίας γράψαντα ἡ τῆς ὀρχήσεως τάξις ἐγένετο, ἀναστὰς εἶπε· ‘πότερον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κακῶς ὀρχούμενον ἐμὲ θεάσασθαι βούλει ἢ καλῶς ἀπαγγέλλοντός μου ἴδια ποιήματα θέλεις ἀκροάσασθαι;’ κελευσθεὶς οὖν λέγειν οὕτως ἦσε τὸν βασιλέα ὥστ’ ἐράνου τε ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τῶν φίλων εἷς γενέσθαι.”
c Δοῦρις δ’ ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ιζ′ Πολυσπέρχοντά φησιν εἰ μεθυσθείη καίτοι πρεσβύτερον ὄντα ὀρχεῖσθαι, οὐδενὸς Μακεδόνων ὄντα δεύτερον οὔτε κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ ἐνδυόμενον αὐτὸν κροκωτὸν καὶ ὑποδούμενον Σικυώνια διατελεῖν ὀρχούμενον. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ’ ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Ἀσιατικῶν ἱστορεῖ ὡς οἱ
d ἑστιῶντες Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τῶν φίλων τὸ μέλλον παρατεθήσεσθαι τῶν τραγημάτων περιεχρύσουν· ὅτε δὲ θέλοιεν ἀναλίσκειν, περιελόντες τὸν χρυσὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξέβαλλον, ἵνα τῆς μὲν πολυτελείας οἱ φίλοι θεαταὶ γίνωνται, οἱ δ’ οἰκέται κύριοι. ἐπιλελησμένοι δ’ ἦσαν οὗτοι, ὡς καὶ Δοῦρις ἱστορεῖ, ὅτι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὴρ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ὁλκὴν ἄγον πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς κεκτημένος τοῦτο ἐλάμβανε κοιμώμενος ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸς κεφαλὴν αὑτοῦ κατετίθετο.
e Σέλευκος δὲ Θρᾳκῶν φησί τινας ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἀγχόνην παίζειν βρόχον ἀρτήσαντας ἔκ τινος ὕψους,[1] πρὸς ὃν κατὰ κάθετον ὑποτίθεσθαι[2] λίθον εὐπερίτρεπτον τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσι. διαλαγχάνειν οὖν αὐτοὺς

[1] After ὕψους AC add στρογγύλον, del. by Kaibel.
[2] ὑποτίθεσθαι Meineke: προστίθεσθαι AC.

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[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 476. [b] *Ibid.* iii. 196.

Alexandria in the Troad—he arose and said: 'In my case, O King, would you rather see me dance badly, or would you like to hear me recite well my own works?' Commanded, therefore, to recite, he so delighted the king that he was promoted to a pension and became one of the king's favourites." Duris of Samos, in the seventeenth book of his *Histories*,[a] says of Polysperchon that whenever he was elated by wine he would dance, even though he was rather old and second to none among the Macedonians either in military achievement or in general esteem; he danced continually, clad in a saffron tunic and wearing on his feet Sicyonian slippers. Agatharchides of Cnidus, in the eighth book of his *Asiatic History*[b] records that whenever the friends of Alexander, son of Philip, entertained him at dinner, they encased everything that was to be served as dessert[c] in gold; and when they desired to eat the dessert, they tore off the gold with the rest of the waste and threw it away, that their friends might be spectators of their extravagance, while their slaves enjoyed the profit. But these gentry had forgotten, what Duris also records,[d] that Philip, Alexander's father, possessed a gold cup weighing fifty drachms, and that he always took it to bed with him and placed it at his head. Seleucus says[e] that some Thracians make a sport of hanging at their drinking-bouts; they attach a noose at a certain height, directly under which they place a stone which may be easily rolled by any who step upon it.

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[c] Such as nuts, figs, raisins, of which the shells and stones were thrown on the floor.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 470; *cf.* Athen. 231 b. Macedonia possessed little gold in Philip's time.

[e] *F.H.G.* iii. 500.

καὶ τὸν λαχόντα ἔχοντα δρεπάνιον ἐπιβαίνειν τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τὸν βρόχον ἐντιθέναι· παρερχόμενον δὲ ἄλλον ἐγείρειν τὸν λίθον· καὶ ὁ κρεμάμενος ὑποτρέχοντος[1] τοῦ λίθου, ἐὰν μὴ ταχὺ φθάσας ἀποτέμῃ τῷ δρεπάνῳ, τέθνηκε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι γελῶσι παιδιὰν ἔχοντες τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον."
f ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν εἶχον, ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ συμπόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πρῶτοι, περὶ ἀρχαίων συμποσίων ἐπιστάμενος.

Ἀκριβῶς δ' ὁ σοφὸς Πλάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Νόμων περὶ συμποσίων διηγεῖται λέγων οὕτως· "καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἀγρῶν ἴδοις οὔτ' ἐν ἄστεσιν ὅσων Σπαρτιάταις μέλει συμπόσια οὐδ' ὁπόσα τούτοις ξυνεπόμενα πάσας ἡδονὰς κινεῖ κατὰ
156 δύναμιν. οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ἁπάντων κωμάζοντί τινι μετὰ μέθης οὐκ ἂν τὴν μεγίστην δίκην εὐθὺς ἐπιθείη καὶ οὐδ' ἂν Διονύσια πρόφασιν ἔχοντ' αὐτὸν ῥύσαιτο, ὥσπερ ἐν ἁμάξαις εἶδον παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποίκοις πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐθεασάμην περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν. ἐν Λακεδαίμονι οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον."

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος "ἀλλ' ὡς ὤφελον, ἔφη, τὴν Θρᾴκιον ταύτην παίξας παιδιὰν διεφθάρης· ἀνέτεινες[2] γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ νηστείαν ἄγοντας καὶ
b περιμένοντας τὸ ἀνατέλλον ἄστρον, οὗ φασι μὴ

[1] ὑποτρέχοντος Coraes: ἐπιτρέχοντος AC.
[2] διεφθάρης· ἀνέτεινες Schweighäuser: διεφθάρησαν ετινες A.

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[a] *Cf.* Aristoph. *Plut.* 254, *Lysist.* 1110.
[b] 637 A. A Spartan is addressing an Athenian.

They then draw lots, and the one who receives the lot mounts the stone, holding a pruning-knife, and places his neck in the noose; another comes by and pushes the stone; and while it is rolling from under him, the man hanging there, if he does not quickly cut himself loose with the knife before it is too late, is dead, and the others laugh, holding the poor devil's death a great joke." This, friends and fellow-drinkers, "easily first among the Greeks,"[a] I have been able to tell from my knowledge of ancient symposia.

The wise Plato, in the first book of the *Laws*,[b] accurately describes symposia in these words: "Neither in the country nor in the towns under Spartan jurisdiction would you see symposia, nor would you see the things which accompany them and which excite all manner of licentious pleasures to the full extent of their power. Nor is there one among us who, if he met a man indulging in drunken merriment, would not immediately lay the heaviest punishment upon him; and not even the festival of Dionysus would afford an excuse to protect him, as I have seen it do in your country among the carts,[c] and also in Tarentum, among our own colonists, where I have seen the whole town drunk during the festival of Dionysus. In Lacedaemon there is nothing of that sort."

Whereupon Cynulcus said: "I can only wish that you had played that Thracian game and come to your death; for you have been stretching our patience, and we are like persons who keep a fast and wait for that rising star which, as those say who

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[c] Referring to the "jokes from the cart" in the processions of Dionysus and Demeter.

φανέντος οἱ τὴν χρηστὴν ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν εὑρόντες νόμιμον εἶναι μηδενὸς γεύεσθαι. “ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὁ τάλας” κατὰ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιὸν Δίφιλον·

κεστρεὺς ἂν εἴην ἕνεκα νηστείας ἄκρας.

ἐπελάθεσθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τῶν τοῦ ποιητοῦ καλῶν, ὃς ἔφη·

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι χέρειον ἐν ὥρῃ δεῖπνον ἑλέσθαι.

καὶ ὁ καλὸς δ᾽ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Κωκάλῳ ἔφη·

ἀλλ᾽ ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ, κομιδῇ μεσημβρία,
c ἡνίκα γε τοὺς νεωτέρους δειπνεῖν χρεών.

ἐμοί τε πολλῷ ἦν ἄμεινον κατὰ τὸ Παρμενίσκου τῶν κυνικῶν συμπόσιον δειπνεῖν ἢ ἐνθάδε πάντα ὥσπερ τοὺς πυρέσσοντας περιφερόμενα ὁρᾶν.” γελασάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη τις· “ἀλλ᾽ ὦ λῷστε ἀνδρῶν, μὴ φθονήσῃς ἡμῖν τὸ Παρμενίσκειον ἐκεῖνο διελθεῖν συμπόσιον.” καὶ ὃς μετέωρον αὑτὸν παραναστήσας ἔφη· “ὄμνυμι δ᾽ ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, κατὰ τὸν ἡδὺν Ἀντιφάνη, ὃς ἐν τῇ Παρεκδιδομένῃ ἔφη·

ὄμνυμι δ᾽ ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν,
ἐξ οὗ τὸ μεθύειν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν γίνεται,
d ἦ μὴν ἑλέσθαι τοῦτον ἂν ζῆν τὸν βίον
ἢ τὴν Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεροχήν.
ῥοφεῖν φακῆν ἐσθ᾽ ἡδὺ μὴ δεδοικότα,
μαλακῶς καθεύδειν ἄθλιον δεδοικότα.

ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε Παρμενίσκος οὕτως ὑπήρξατο· “Παρ-

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[a] It is commonly thought that Athenaeus has confused Jewish with Christian rites here, and χρηστὴν is regarded as an allusion to χριστιανήν. But such a confusion was impossible in the third century, and other sects, *e.g.* the Neo-

have founded this noble philosophy, must first appear before it is lawful to taste any food.[a] 'But I, wretch that I am,' as the comic poet Diphilus says,[b] 'shall be an empty-bellied mullet through this extreme fasting.' And you also have forgotten the fine words of the Poet, who has said[c]: 'Surely 'tis better to take our repast in season.' And the noble Aristophanes, in *Cocalus*, said[d]: 'But, Daddy, it is high noon already, the time when youngsters should have dinner.' And so, in my opinion, it would be much better to dine in the fashion described by Parmeniscus, in *The Cynics' Symposium*, than to see as in a fever all these dishes going round here."[e] We laughed, and someone said: "Well, my fine fellow, don't begrudge us the account of that symposium by Parmeniscus." So he raised himself up high beside us, and said: "'I swear to you, gentlemen,' to quote the pleasant Antiphanes. He has said, in *Wrongly Wed*[f]: 'I swear to you, gentlemen, by that very god from whose bounty we all get drunk, that verily I should rather choose to live this life than have the superfluity of King Seleucus. It is sweet to sop up lentil soup without fear, it is miserable to sleep on a soft bed in fear.' Well then, Parmeniscus began his recital thus.[g] 'Parmeniscus

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Pythagoreans, may have observed a fast until the evening-star appeared.

[b] Kock ii. 558; *cf.* 307 f. The reference is to the kind of mullet called the "faster."

[c] *Od.* xvii. 176.

[d] Kock i. 484.

[e] Without being eaten; "going round" has a double meaning, referring both to vertigo and to the circulation of the dishes at dinner.

[f] Kock ii. 88; *cf.* *T.G.F.*^{2} 900.

[g] That Parmeniscus used stilted language to the verge of nonsense is all that we know of him.

μενίσκος Μόλπιδι χαίρειν. πλεονάζων ἐν ταῖς προσφωνήσεσι πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν κλήσεων ἀγωνιῶ μή ποτε εἰς πληθώραν ἐμπεσὼν μεμψιμοιρήσῃς. διὸ καὶ μεταδοῦναί σοι βούλομαι e τοῦ παρὰ Κέβητι τῷ Κυζικηνῷ δείπνου· προπιὼν δ' ὑσώπου τὴν ὥραν[1] ἐπάναγε ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν. Διονυσίων γὰρ ὄντων Ἀθήνησι παρελήφθην πρὸς αὐτό.[2] κατέλαβον δὲ κυνικοὺς μὲν ἀνακειμένους ἕξ, ἕνα δὲ κύνουλκον Καρνεῖον τὸν Μεγαρικόν. τοῦ δείπνου δὲ χρονίζοντος λόγος ἐγένετο ποῖον τῶν ὑδάτων ἥδιστόν ἐστιν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐγκωμιαζόντων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρνης, ἄλλων δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης, ὁ Καρνεῖος κατὰ Φιλόξενον εἶπε 'τὸ κατὰ χειρῶν.' καὶ τῆς τραπέζης παρατεθείσης ἐδειπνοῦμεν "καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐξηντλοῦμεν φακῆν, f ἡ δ' ἐπεισέρρει.' εἶτα πάλιν φακοὶ προσηνέχθησαν ὄξει βεβρεγμένοι, καὶ ὁ Διιτρέφης δραξάμενος ἔφη·

> Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος φακῶν

καὶ ἄλλος ἑξῆς ἀνεβόησε·

> φακός σε δαίμων καὶ φακὴ τύχη λάβοι.

(ἐμοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Δίφιλον, φησὶν δ' οὗτος ἐν Πελιάσι·

[1] ὥραν Kaibel : ὤραν A.
[2] αὐτό (sc. δεῖπνον) Meyer : αὐτόν AC.

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[a] πληθώραν, "fulness," a medical word; hence the injunction in the next line.

[b] κύνουλκον, "dog-leader," the Cynics being "dogs." Athen. 1 d.

[c] P.L.G.⁴ iii. 605, Athen. 147 c (?).

to Molpis, greeting: Since I have been very frequent in my addresses to you on the subject of the distinguished banquets to which I have been invited, I am in great apprehension lest you may at last be attacked with indigestion[a] and lay the blame of your over-indulgence on me. Wherefore I wish to impart to you some of the dinner held at the house of Cebes of Cyzicus; so first drink some hyssop and direct your regard toward this entertainment. It was during the festival of Dionysus at Athens that I was invited to it. There I found a half dozen Cynics reclining, and one "master of the hounds,"[b] Carneius of Megara. The dinner being slow in coming, a discussion arose concerning water—which was the sweetest? Some praised the water of Lerna, others, again, the water of Peirene; but Carneius, quoting Philoxenus,[c] said "The water which is poured over the hands."[d] When the table was set beside us we began dinner, and "no sooner did we exhaust one lentil soup than in flowed another after."[e] Then lentils again, soaked in vinegar were brought to us, and Diitrephes clutched a handful and said: "Zeus, let not him who is to blame for these beans escape thy vengeance!"[f] And another thereupon cried out: "May a baneful destiny and a baneful fate seize thee."[g] (In my eyes,[h] to quote the comedian Diphilus, who says, in *Daughters of Pelias*[i]: 'The little dinner

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[d] After a good dinner!

[e] *T.G.F.*^{2} 856; a proverb (omitting φακῆν) of the Danaids, condemned to fill a leaky cask (φιδάκνην).

[f] A parody of Euripides, *Medea* 332, where κακῶν, "banes," stands in place of φακῶν, "beans."

[g] *T.G.F.*^{2} 857, where again κακός for φακός.

[h] Cynulcus here interrupts his own narrative.

[i] Kock ii. 562.

τὸ δειπνάριον ἀνθηρὸν ἦν, γλαφυρὸν σφόδρα·
φακῆς κατ’ ἄνδρα τρυβλίον μεστὸν μέγα.
157 Β. πρώτιστον οὐκ ἀνθηρόν. Α. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φέρων
εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπεχόρευσε σαπέρδης μέγας
ὑπό τι δυσώδης. Β. οὗτος ἱερὸς ἀνθίας,[1]
ὃς πολλὰ χαίρειν[2] ταῖς κίχλαις ἤδη λέγει.)

γέλωτος οὖν ἐπιρραγέντος παρῆν ἡ θεατροτορύνη Μέλισσα καὶ ἡ κυνάμυια Νίκιον· αὗται δ’ ἦσαν τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἑταιρίδων. ἀποβλέψασαι οὖν αὗται εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα καὶ θαυμάσασαι ἐγέλων.
b καὶ ἡ Νίκιον ἔφη· ‘οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες γενειοσυλλεκτάδαι, ἰχθὺν ἐσθίει; ἢ καθάπερ ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν Μελέαγρος ὁ Γαδαρεὺς ἐν ταῖς Χάρισιν ἐπιγραφομέναις ἔφη τὸν Ὅμηρον Σύρον ὄντα τὸ γένος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἰχθύων ἀπεχομένους ποιῆσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς[3] δαψιλείας πολλῆς οὔσης κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον; ἢ μόνον ἀνέγνωτε συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ περιέχον λεκίθου καὶ φακῆς σύγκρισιν; ὁρῶ γὰρ πολλὴν παρ’ ὑμῖν τῆς φακῆς τὴν σκευήν· εἰς ἣν ἀποβλέπουσα συμβουλεύσαιμ’ ἂν ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸν Σωκρατικὸν Ἀντισθένην ἐξάγειν ἑαυτοὺς
c τοῦ βίου τοιαῦτα σιτουμένους.’ πρὸς ἣν ὁ Καρνεῖος ἔφη· ‘Εὐξίθεος ὁ Πυθαγορικός, ὦ Νίκιον, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ βίων, ἔλεγεν ἐνδεδέσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ

[1] ἱερὸς ἀνθίας Schweighäuser: ηρος ἀνθίαν A.
[2] ὃς πολλὰ χαίρειν Schweighäuser (χαίρειν added by Casaubon): ὃν πολλὰ A.
[3] Ἀχαιοὺς Meineke: ἀρχαίους AC.

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[a] The wrasse (*Labrus anthias*), as was noticed by sponge fishers, frightened away even larger fish, and was called

was splendid, and very delicate. Beside each man there stood a large bowl full of lentil soup.—B. In the very first place, that's not so splendid.—A. Next after that there came dancing with a swoop into our midst a large shabar, rather evil smelling.—B. That must be the 'sacred wrasse,' which makes the other wrasses forthwith give him a wide berth.')[a] After a burst of laughter at this, there entered the stage-thumper[b] Melissa and the dog-fly Nicion; these were notorious courtesans. Glancing with wonder at the viands before them, they began to laugh. And Nicion said: "Does no one of you, beard-gathering sirs,[c] eat fish? Or is it like what your ancestor Meleager of Gadara, in the work entitled *The Graces*, said of Homer: being a Syrian by birth, he has represented the Achaeans as abstaining from fish according to the practice of his own country, although there is great abundance of them in the region of the Hellespont? Or have you read only that work of his which contains the comparison of pease-porridge with lentil-soup? For I see that the quantity of lentil-soup prepared at your dinner is great, and as I gaze upon it I should advise you, in the words of the Socratic Antisthenes, to 'deliver yourselves from life,' if you must feed on such stuff." In answer to her Carneius said: "Euxitheus the Pythagorean, Nicion, as the Peripatetic Clearchus tells us in the second book of his *Lives*,[d] was wont to say that the souls of all beings are imprisoned in the

"sacred" by them; ταῖς κίχλαις also means "the thrushes," as in 136 c. *Cf.* Aristot. *H.A.* ix. 25. 3.

[b] Found only here, probably referring to her clumsy dancing. For "dog-fly" see 126 a, note.

[c] *Cf.* στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδαι, "gossip-gatherers," Aristoph. *Ran.* 841.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 303.

τῷ δεῦρο βίῳ τὰς ἁπάντων ψυχὰς τιμωρίας
χάριν, καὶ διειπάσθαι τὸν θεὸν ὡς εἰ μὴ μενοῦσιν
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἕως ἂν ἑκὼν αὐτοὺς λύσῃ, πλείοσι
καὶ μείζοσιν ἐμπεσοῦνται τότε λύμαις. διὸ πάντας
d εὐλαβουμένους τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἀνάτασιν φοβεῖσθαι
τοῦ ζῆν ἑκόντας ἐκβῆναι μόνον τε τὸν ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ
θάνατον ἀσπασίως προσίεσθαι,[1] πεπεισμένους τὴν
ἀπόλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῆς τῶν κυρίων γίγνεσθαι
γνώμης. τούτοις τοῖς δόγμασιν ἡμεῖς πειθόμεθα.'
'ὑμῖν δὲ φθόνος οὐδὲ εἷς ἑλέσθαι ἕν τι τῶν τριῶν
ἔχειν κακῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ταλαίπωροι,
ὅτι αἱ βαρεῖαι αὗται τροφαὶ φράττουσι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν
καὶ οὐκ ἐῶσι τὴν φρόνησιν ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι.'—
Θεόπομπος οὖν ἐν ε' Φιλιππικῶν φησι· "τὸ
e γὰρ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ καὶ κρεοφαγεῖν[2] τοὺς μὲν λογισμοὺς
ἐξαιρεῖ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ποιεῖται βραδυτέρας,
ὀργῆς δὲ καὶ σκληρότητος καὶ πολλῆς σκαιότητος
ἐμπίπλησι." καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος δὲ Ξενοφῶν φησιν
ὡς ἡδὺ μὲν μᾶζαν καὶ κάρδαμα φαγεῖν πεινῶντι,
ἡδὺ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀρυσάμενον ἐκ ποταμοῦ διψῶντα
πιεῖν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ πολλάκις κατελαμβάνετο
διαπεριπατῶν ἑσπέρας βαθείας πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους "τί τηνικάδε"; ἔλεγεν
ὄψον συνάγειν πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον.—
f Ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτάρκης μερὶς ἣν ἂν παρ' ὑμῶν

[1] προσίεσθαι Casaubon: προΐστασθαι A.
[2] κρεοφαγεῖν Kontos: κρεαφαγεῖν A.

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[a] Nicion answers. There were three ways of committing suicide: by the sword, the noose, and jumping from a high cliff. Their method, by stuffing themselves with lentils, was not canonical. *Cf.* Schol. Pind. *Ol.* i. 97.

[b] τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, "leading part," an expression first used by Plato, became Stoic cant.

body and in this hither life as a punishment, and that the god has ordained that if they refuse to abide in these until he of his own will releases them, they will then be plunged in more and greater torments. Wherefore all persons, dreading the violence of the higher powers, are afraid to depart from this life of their own motion, and gladly welcome only the death which comes in old age, being persuaded that this release of their souls comes with the approval of the higher powers. To these principles we ourselves subscribe."[a] "But nobody begrudges *your* choosing one of the three evils. Indeed, you don't understand, poor fools, that these heavy foods form a barrier to the authoritative part of the soul,[b] and inhibit the reason from being itself."—

"Theopompus, therefore, in the fifth book of his *History of Philip*,[c] says: 'Too much eating, as well as meat-eating, destroys the reasoning faculties and makes souls more sluggish, and fills them besides with irascibility, hardness, and awkwardness.' And the admirable Xenophon also says[d] that it is pleasant to eat a barley-cake and some cress when one is hungry, and pleasant, too, to draw water from a stream and drink when one is thirsty. And Socrates was many a time found walking up and down in front of his house in the late afternoon, and to those who asked, 'What are you doing at this hour?' he would reply, 'Gathering a relish for my dinner.'—

"But we shall be satisfied with any piece that

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[c] *F.H.G.* i. 286. In this paragraph Cynulcus interrupts the account of Parmeniscus. His Cynics reply to Nicion in the next.

[d] *Cyrop.* i. 2. 11.

λάβωμεν, καὶ οὐ χαλεπαίνομεν ὡς ἔλαττον φερόμενοι, καθάπερ ὁ παρὰ Ἀντικλείδῃ Ἡρακλῆς. φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῷ β′ τῶν Νόστων· ‘μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι τοὺς ἄθλους Ἡρακλέα Εὐρυσθέως θυσίαν τινὰ ἐπιτελοῦντος συμπαραληφθέντα καὶ τῶν τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως υἱῶν τὰς μερίδας ἑκάστῳ παρατιθέντων, τῷ δ᾽ Ἡρακλεῖ ταπεινοτέραν
158 παραθέντων, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀτιμάζεσθαι ὑπολαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε τρεῖς τῶν παίδων Περιμήδην, Εὐρύβιον, Εὐρύπυλον.’ οὐ τοιοῦτοι οὖν τὸν θυμὸν ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ πάντα Ἡρακλέους ζηλωταί.”

τραγικὸν (γὰρ) ἡ φακῆ ᾽στιν, ἧς καί φασιν Ἀγάθαρχόν ποτε[1]
γεγραφέναι ῥοφοῦντ᾽ Ὀρέστην τῆς νόσου πεπαυμένον,

φησὶ Σώφιλος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιός. στωικὸν δὲ δόγμα ἐστὶν ὅτι τε πάντα εὖ ποιήσει ὁ σοφὸς καὶ φακῆν φρονίμως ἀρτύσει. διὸ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος
b ἔφη· “καὶ Ζηνώνειόν γε[2] φακῆν ἕψειν ὃς μὴ φρονίμως μεμάθηκεν,” ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως δυναμένης ἑψηθῆναι φακῆς εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ζηνώνειον ὑφήγησιν, ὃς ἔφη·

εἰς δὲ φακῆν ἔμβαλλε δυωδέκατον κοριάννου.

καὶ Κράτης δ᾽ ὁ Θηβαῖος ἔλεγεν·

μὴ πρὸ φακῆς λοπάδ᾽ αὔξων
εἰς[3] στάσιν ἄμμε βάλῃς.

Χρύσιππός τε ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ γνώμας τινὰς ἡμῖν εἰσφέρων φησί·

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[1] ἧς καί φασιν Ἀγάθαρχόν ποτε Dobree and Meineke: ἀρχάγαθος ἔφη πο A.

[2] Ζηνώνειόν γε perhaps interpolated.

[3] αἰεὶ ἐς Babbitt.

we may get from you, and not take it ill if we get too little, like the Heracles of Anticleides. For he says, in the second book of his *Returns*[a]: ‘After the completion of his Labours, Heracles was invited with others to a sacrifice celebrated by Eurystheus; and when the sons of Eurystheus set the chief portions before each one of themselves, but placed an humbler portion before Heracles, he, deeming that he had been insulted, slew three of the sons, Perimedes, Eurybius, and Eurypylus.’ Well, then, we have no such temper ourselves, though we are emulators of Heracles in all things.”’[b]

Indeed, “Lentil soup is known to the tragic stage; they say that Agatharchus once painted a picture of Orestes guzzling it when he had recovered from his disease.” So speaks the comic poet Sophilus.[c] It is a Stoic belief, too, that the wise man will do all things rightly, even to the wise seasoning of lentil soup. Wherefore Timon of Phlius speaks of one[d] “who had never learned wisely to make a Zenonian lentil soup,” as if a lentil soup could not be made otherwise than according to the Zenonian prescription. For he said: “Into the lentil soup put the twelfth part of a coriander seed.” And Crates[e] of Thebes said: “Exalt not the dish of stew above a plate of lentil soup and so set us to quarrelling.’ In like manner Chrysippus,[f] in his essay *On the Good*, introduces to us certain maxims in these

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[a] P. 148 Müller; the title, *Nostoi*, is the same as that of the epic which describes the return of the Achaeans from Troy.

[b] Here the narrative of Parmeniscus, begun 156 d, ends.

[c] Kock ii. 447.

[d] Frag. 21 and 22 Wachsmuth, 187 Diels.

[e] *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 10.

[f] Birt, *Antikes Buchwesen*, p. 30, thinks the number of the book has been lost. See Kock iii. 477.

μηδέποτ᾽ ἐλαίαν ἔσθι᾽, ἀκαλήφην ἔχων.
χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ βολβοφακῆν, βαβαί, βαβαί.
βολβοφακῆ δ᾽ οἷον ἀμβροσίη ψύχους κρυόεντος.

c ὁ χαρίεις τε Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ ἔφη·

πτισάνην διδάσκεις αὐτὸν ἕψειν ἢ φακῆν;

καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ·

ὅστις φακῆν ἥδιστον ὄψων λοιδορεῖς.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ᾽ ἐν Διονύσοις·

χύτρα δὲ φακέας ἥψετο.

Ἀντιφάνης Ὁμοίαις·

εὖ δ᾽ ἐγίνεθ᾽ εἰ φακῆν[1]
ἕψειν μ᾽ ἐδίδασκε[2] τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τις εἷς.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ φρονιμωτάτου καὶ συνετωτάτου ἀδελφὴν Φακῆν καλουμένην, ἣν
d ἄλλοι τινὲς Καλλιστὼ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖν Μνασέαν τὸν Πατρέα ἐν τρίτῳ Εὐρωπιακῶν φησιν Λυσίμαχος ἐν τρίτῳ Νόστων."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις γελάσαντος πάνυ ἔκλαμπρον τοῦ Πλουτάρχου οὐκ ἐνέγκας ὁ κύων παροραθεῖσαν τὴν περὶ τῆς φακῆς πολυμάθειαν "ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς γε, ἔφη, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὦ Πλούταρχε, σύντροφοί ἐστε τῷ φακίνῳ βρώματι καὶ πᾶσα ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις πλήρης ἐστὶ φακίνων· ὧν καὶ Σώπατρος ὁ Φάκιος παρῳδὸς μέμνηται ἐν δράματι Βακχίδι λέγων οὕτως·

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[1] εἰ φακῆν Kaibel: ηφακην A.

[2] ἕψειν μ᾽ ἐδίδασκε Jacobs: εψειημεδίδασκε A.

words: 'Never eat an olive when you have a nettle. In the winter season, a bulb-and-lentil soup, oh me, oh my! For bulb-and-lentil soup is like ambrosia in the chilly cold.' And the witty Aristophanes, in *Gerytades*,[a] has said: 'Are you teaching him to make barley gruel or lentil soup?' And in *Amphiaraus*[b]: 'You, who dare insult lentil soup, sweetest of delicacies!' Epicharmus, in *The Dionysi*[c]: 'A kettle of lentil soup was simmering.' Antiphanes in *Just Alike*[d]: 'It proved to be a piece of good luck, that one of the natives was teaching me how to make lentil soup.' I know also that the sister of Odysseus, most prudent and sagacious, was called Lentil, though others name her Callisto, as recorded by Mnaseas of Patrae in the third book of his *European History*; my authority is Lysimachus, in the third book of his *Returns*."[e]

At this Plutarch laughed very boisterously, and the Cynic, unable to bear the slighting of his erudition concerning lentils, cried, "Yet, you men of fair Alexandria, Plutarch, have been brought up on lentil food, and your entire city is full of lentil dishes. Even the 'lentil'-parodist,[f] Sopater, mentions them in a play, *Bacchis*,[g] in these words: 'I could not,

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[a] Kock i. 431. [b] Kock i. 398. [c] Kaibel 96.

[d] Kock ii. 82. For the title *cf.* Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iv. 1127 a 10.

[e] *F.H.G.* iii. 339, 152. For the title *Nostoi* see 157 f, note. Here ends the discourse of Cynulcus begun at 156 a, to be resumed in the next paragraph.

[f] Φάκιος, jocosely for Πάφιος, "Paphian." So in American slang, Bean-town for Boston.

[g] Kaibel 192. The sense is: "I, an Alexandrian, could not bring myself to eat lentil bread even when living in Rhodes, where it is a favourite dish."

e οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην εἰσορῶν χαλκήλατον
μέγαν κολοσσὸν φάκινον ἄρτον ἐσθίειν.

‘ἐπεὶ τί δεῖ βροτοῖσι’ κατὰ τὸν σὸν Εὐριπίδην, γραμματικώτατε, ‘πλὴν δυοῖν μόνον,’

Δήμητρος ἀκτῆς πώματός θ’ ὑδρηχόου;
ἅπερ πάρεστι καὶ πέφυχ’ ἡμᾶς τρέφειν.
ὧν οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ πλησμονή[1]· τρυφῇ γέ τοι
ἄλλων ἐδεστῶν μηχανὰς θηρεύομεν.

κἀν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν ὁ σκηνικὸς οὗτος φιλόσοφος·

ἀρκεῖ μετρία βιοτά μοι
σώφρονος τραπέζης·
f τὸ δ’ ἄκαιρον ἅπαν . . . ὑπερβάλ-
λον τε μὴ προσείμαν.

καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης δ’ ἔλεγεν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν καθ’ ὅσον οἱ μὲν ζῶσιν ἵν’ ἐσθίωσιν, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐσθίει ἵνα ζῇ. Διογένης τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ ἀποτριβομένῳ ἔλεγεν· ‘εἴθ’ ἠδυνάμην καὶ τὴν γαστέρα τρίψας τῆς πείνης καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας παύσασθαι.’ ὁ δ’ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἱκέτισι περὶ τοῦ Καπανέως φησίν·

Καπανεὺς ὅδ’ ἐστίν· ᾧ βίος μὲν ἦν πολύς,
159 ἥκιστα δ’ ὄλβῳ γαῦρος ἦν· φρόνημα δὲ
οὐδέν τι μεῖζον εἶχεν ἢ πένης ἀνήρ,
ψέγων[2] τραπέζαις εἴ τις ἐξογκοῖτ’ ἄγαν,
τἀρκοῦν ἐπαινῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν γαστρὸς βορᾷ
τὸ χρηστὸν εἶναι, μέτρια δ’ ἐξαρκεῖν ἔφη.

Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὁ Καπανεὺς οἷον ὁ καλὸς Χρύσιππος διαγράφει ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν μὴ δι’ αὐτὰ αἱρετῶν λέγων ὧδε· ‘ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν τινες ἐκ-

living within sight of the huge bronze Colossus, eat a loaf of lentil bread.' 'For what need have mortals (as your own Euripides says,[a] most learned grammarian) of aught save two things only, Demeter's bounty and a water-gushing draught? These we have at hand, and nature gave them to nurture us. Yet we are not satisfied with abundance of these, and so in mere wantonness we hunt for devices to get other foods.' And in another place this philosopher of the stage says[a]: 'Sufficient unto me is the modest food of a sober table; but all that is unseasonable and goes beyond due measure I hope I may not admit.' And Socrates used to say that he differed from all other men in that they live to eat whereas he ate to live. Diogenes, too, answered those who chided him for rubbing himself down: 'Would that I were able, by rubbing my belly as well, to quell its hunger and want!' Euripides in *The Suppliants*[b] says of Capaneus: 'Here is Capaneus; his fortune was great, yet was he by no means proud in his felicity; and he carried a spirit no more presumptuous than any poor man, chiding any who was swollen overmuch with a rich table, and praising what sufficed; for he said that excellence consisted not in stuffing the belly, but that things in moderation were enough.'

"Capaneus was, in fact, not like the man whom the noble Chrysippus describes in the tract on *Things not to be Chosen for their own Sake*. He says: 'Some men

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 646.   [b] 861 ff., *cf.* Athen. 250 f.

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[1] Aulus Gellius (vi. 16. 7): πλησμονῆς A.
[2] φεύγων Eur.

b πίπτουσι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ὥστε ἱστορῆσθαι πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τινα μὲν καταπιόντα οὐκ ὀλίγους χρυσοῦς ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ῥαψάμενον εἴς τινα[1] χιτῶνα καὶ ἐνδύντα αὐτὸν ἐπισκῆψαι τοῖς οἰκείοις θάψαι οὕτως μήτε καύσαντας μήτε θεραπεύσαντας.' οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μονονουχὶ βοῶντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν·

ὦ χρυσέ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,
ὡς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονὰς τοιάσδ' ἔχει,
οὐ παῖδες ἐν δόμοισιν,[2] οὐ φίλος πατήρ,
οἵας σὺ χοἰ σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοι.
c εἰ δ' ἡ Κύπρις τοιοῦτον ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾷ,
οὐ θαῦμ' Ἔρωτας μυρίους αὐτὴν ἔχειν.

τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἡ φιλοχρηματία παρὰ τοῖς τότε· περὶ ἧς Ἀνάχαρσις πυνθανομένου τινὸς πρὸς τί οἱ Ἕλληνες χρῶνται τῷ ἀργυρίῳ εἶπεν 'πρὸς τὸ ἀριθμεῖν.' Διογένης δ' ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ Πολιτείᾳ νόμισμα εἶναι νομοθετεῖ ἀστραγάλους. καλῶς γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἴρηκε·

μὴ πλοῦτον εἴπῃς· οὐχὶ θαυμάζω θεὸν
ὃν χὠ κάκιστος ῥᾳδίως ἐκτήσατο.

d Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ τῇ εἰς τὴν περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν πραγματείαν[3] νεανίσκον φησί τινα ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας σφόδρα πλούσιον ἐπιδημῆσαι ταῖς Ἀθήναις πορφυρίδα ἠμφιεσμένον ἔχουσαν χρυσᾶ κράσπεδα. πυνθανομένου δέ τινος αὐτοῦ

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[1] τινὰ A: Meineke τὸν: Meyer del.

[2] ἐν δόμοισιν A: ἀνθρώποισιν Sext. Empir. and Stobaeus.

[3] εἰσαγωγῇ τῇ . . . πραγματείαν Casaubon: τῆς . . . πραγματείᾳ A: εἰσαγωγῇ τῇ περὶ ἀγαθῶν 464 d.

are so degraded, when it comes to money, that the story is told of a man who, when near his end, swallowed a large number of gold pieces and died; still another caused some to be sewn in a shirt, and after putting it on he charged the members of his household to bury him just as he was, without burning his body or caring for it in any way.' Such persons as these, in fact, all but shout as they die: 'O Gold, fairest gift welcomed by mortals! For neither a mother, nor children in the house, nor loved father can bring such delights as thou and they that own thee in their halls. If the glance which shines from Kypris' eyes is like thine, no wonder that countless loves attend her.'[a] Such was the character of the greed which people of those days possessed; concerning it Anacharsis, when someone asked him what the Greeks used money for, replied, 'To count!' Diogenes ordains that in his ideal state the currency shall be dice. Well said are the following words of Euripides:[b] 'Speak not of wealth[c]; for I reverence not the god whom even the basest man may easily win to his side.' Chrysippus, in the introduction to his treatise on *Good and Evil*, says that once a very rich young man came to Athens from Ionia, dressed in a purple cloak with gold fringe. When someone asked him where he

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[a] From the lost *Danaë* of Euripides, *T.G.F.*² 456. *Cf* Seneca's rendering, *Epist.* 115. 14:

> pecunia ingens generis humani bonum,
> cui non voluptas matris aut blandae potest
> par esse prolis, non sacer meritis parens.
> tam dulce siquid Veneris in vultu micat,
> merito illa amores caelitum atque hominum movet.

[b] *T.G.F.*³ 368.

[c] Or, the god Plutus.

ποδαπός ἐστιν ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι πλούσιος. μήποτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Θηβαίοις λέγων ὧδε·

ἐστὶν δὲ ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος οὗτος; Β. πλούσιος·
τούτους δὲ πάντες φασὶν εὐγενεστάτους,
πένητα δ' εὐπάτριδ' οὐδὲ εἷς ὁρᾷ."

e Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Κύνουλκος, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκροταλίσθη, θυμωθεὶς "ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὗτοι, ἔφη, ὦ συμποσίαρχε, ὑπὸ λογοδιαρροίας ἐνοχλούμενοι μὴ πεινῶσιν ἢ τὰ περὶ τῆς φακῆς λεχθέντα χλευάζουσιν, ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες τὰ εἰρημένα Φερεκράτει ἐν Κοριαννοῖ·

φέρε δὴ κατακλινῶ· σὺ δὲ τράπεζαν ἔκφερε[1]
καὶ κύλικα κἀντραγεῖν, ἵν' ἥδιον πίω.
Β. ἰδοὺ κύλιξ σοι καὶ τράπεζα καὶ φακοί.
Α. μή μοι φακούς, μὰ τὸν Δί'· οὐ γὰρ ἥδομαι.
f ἢν γὰρ τράγῃ τις, τοῦ στόματος ὄζει κακόν.

ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ τοῦτο φυλάττονται οἱ σοφοὶ οὗτοι τοὺς φακούς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε ποίησον δοθῆναι ἄρτων,[2] μεθ' ὧν μηδὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν, ἀλλὰ κἂν τὴν πολυθρύλητον ἔχῃς φακῆν ἢ τὸν καλούμενον κόγχον." γελασάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κόγχῳ μάλιστα "ἀπαίδευτοί ἐστε, ἔφη, ἄνδρες
160 δαιτυμόνες, οὐκ ἀναγινώσκοντες βιβλία ἃ μόνα παιδεύει τούς γε ἐπιθυμοῦντας τῶν καλῶν· λέγω δὲ τὰ Τίμωνος τοῦ Πυρρωνείου τῶν σίλλων. οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὃς καὶ τοῦ κόγχου μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ β' τῶν σίλλων λέγων οὕτως·

[1] ἔκφερε Kock: φέρε A.
[2] ἄρτων Lumb: ἄρτον A.

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[a] Kock ii. 326; *cf.* Plautus, *Capt.* ii. 2. 27.
[b] Kock i. 163; the title is the name of a courtesan.

was from he replied, 'From Richmond.' Perhaps this is the same young man as that mentioned by Alexis in *The Thebans* [a] thus: 'Whence does this man trace his birth?' B. From the Richmonds. All agree that these are most highly born, but not a soul sees a poor man of noble origin.'"

When Cynulcus failed to get applause after these words, in a burst of temper he said, "Mr. Toastmaster, these gentlemen have no hunger, being troubled with word-diarrhoea, or they ridicule what has been said about lentil soup, having in mind what Pherecrates has said in *Corianno* [b]: 'A. Come, give me a place on the couch; slave, bring forth a table, and a cup, and something to eat, to make the drinking sweeter. B. Here's a cup for you, a table, and some lentils. A. No lentils for me, by Zeus; I don't like them. If one eats them, his breath smells bad.' I say, then, since for this reason these wise men are wary of lentils, at least let some bread be given to me and with it anything that is not too expensive; on the contrary, if so be that you have but the far-famed lentil soup, or the so-called 'conch.' [c]" They all laughed, especially at the mention of "conch," but he continued: "Fellow-diners, you are illiterate; you never read books which alone can educate those who are eager for the good; I mean the books of *Satire* by Timon, disciple of Pyrrhon. For he it is who also mentions 'conch' in the second book of his *Satires*,[d] in these

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[c] Lat. *conchis*, in which lentils were cooked with the pods; Juvenal iii. 293, xiv. 131, Martial vii. 77. Originally, a sea-shell or its contents; here a dish eaten by the poor. Cynulcus, probably to provoke Ulpian, uses it masculine, whereas Timon has it feminine.

[d] Frag. 44 Wachsmuth, 185 Diels.

οὔτε μοι ἡ Τεΐη[1] μᾶζ' ἁνδάνει οὔτε καρύκκη[2]
ἡ Λυδῶν, λειτῇ δὲ καὶ αὐαλέῃ ἐνὶ κόγχῳ
Ἑλλήνων ἡ πᾶσα περισσοτρύφητος ὀιζύς.

διαφόρων γὰρ οὐσῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Τέω μαζῶν ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἐρετρίας (ὡς Σώπατρος ἐν Βακχίδος μνηστῆρσι· φησὶν γάρ·

b Ἐρέτριαν ὡρμήθημεν εἰς λευκάλφιτον)

καὶ τῶν Λυδίων καρυκκῶν προκρίνει ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Τίμων τὸν κόγχον."

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἑστιάτωρ Λαρήνσιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη· "ὦ ἄνδρες κύνες οἱ . . .[3] κατὰ τὴν Στράττιδος τοῦ κωμῳδιοποιοῦ Ἰοκάστην, ἥτις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Φοινίσσαις φησίν·

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῷν τι βούλομαι σοφόν·
ὅταν φακῆν ἕψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον.

καὶ ὁ Σώπατρος δέ, οὗ τὰ νῦν μέμνησαι, ἐν c Νεκυίᾳ μνημονεύει οὕτως·

Ἴθακος Ὀδυσσεύς, τοὐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον,
πάρεστι· θάρσει, θυμέ.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου ἐν τοῖς περὶ παροιμιῶν ὡς παροιμίαν ἀναγράφει τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς προπάτωρ Οὐάρρων ὁ Μενίππειος ἐπικαλούμενος· καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν γραμματικῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν οὐχ ὁμιλήσαντες πολλοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅθεν εἴληφεν ὁ Οὐάρρων d τὸ ἰαμβεῖον. σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κύνουλκε

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[1] ἡ Τεΐη Casaubon: ἢ τηι A.
[2] Schweighäuser: κακρύκη A.

words: 'I like not the barley-cake of Teos, nor the spiced gravy of the Lydians; but in the vulgar and squalid conch my Greek poverty finds all its overflowing luxury.' For though the barley-cakes of Teos are excellent, like those of Eretria (to judge from Sopater, in *The Suitors of Bacchis*[a]; he says: 'We sped to Eretria, city of white barley-meal'), Timon prefers the conch to them and to the Lydian spiced gravy as well."

In reply to this our noble host Larensis himself spoke: "Fellow Dogs,[b] who . . . in the words of the Iocasta of the comic poet Strattis; she says, in the play entitled *Phoenician Women*[c]: 'I wish to give you two some wise advice; when you make lentil-soup don't pour in perfume.' And Sopater also, whom you have just quoted, recalls the proverb in *Spirit-Raising*[d] thus: 'Odysseus of Ithaca is here; as the saying goes, the perfume is in the soup. Have courage, my soul!' Clearchus, of the Peripatetic School, in his work on *Proverbs*,[e] includes the phrase 'perfume in the lentil-soup' as a proverb, which is mentioned also by my ancestor, Varro, surnamed the Menippean.[f] And most of the Roman grammarians, not having been conversant with many Greek poets and historians, do not know where Varro took the verse from. You, Cynulcus (since

[a] Kaibel 192.
[b] *i.e.* Cynics. See crit. note.
[c] Kock i. 724; *cf.* Euripides, *Phoen.* 460.
[d] Kaibel 195. *Cf.* Eurip. *Cyclops* 101.
[e] *F.H.G.* ii. 320; of any useless luxury.
[f] P. 219 Buecheler; on the Menippean satire see Introduction, vol. i. p. xiii.

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[3] *κύνες οἱ* A (lacuna marked by Kaibel): *κυνοσσόοι*, "dog-drivers," Schweighäuser.

(τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρεις τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐ λέγων ὃ ἐκ γενετῆς σε ἡ μήτηρ κέκληκε) κατὰ τὸν σὸν Τίμωνα εἶναί ‘μοι καλός[1] τε μέγας τε,’ οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι κόγχος παρὰ προτέρῳ μνήμης τετύχηκεν Ἐπιχάρμῳ ἐν τᾷ Ἑορτᾷ[2] καὶ Νάσοις Ἀντιφάνει τε τῷ κωμικῷ, ὃς ὑποκοριστικώτερον αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν ἐν Γάμῳ οὕτως·

κογχίον τε μικρὸν ἀλλᾶντός τε προστετμημένον.”

Ἑξῆς ἁρπάσας τὸν λόγον ὁ Μάγνος “ ὁ μὲν πάντα e ἄριστος, ἔφη, Λαρήνσιος ὀξέως καὶ καλῶς ἀπήντησε τῷ γάστριδι κυνὶ περὶ τοῦ κόγχου. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Παφίου Σωπάτρου Γαλάτας,

παρ’ οἷς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἡνίκ’ ἂν προτέρημά τι
ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λάβωσι, θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς[3] Γαλάτας μιμούμενος
κἀγὼ κατακαύσειν ηὐξάμην τοῖς δαίμοσι
διαλεκτικοὺς τρεῖς τῶν παρεγγεγραμμένων.
καὶ μὴν φιλοσοφεῖν φιλολογεῖν τ’ ἀκηκοὼς
f ὑμᾶς ἐπιμελῶς καρτερεῖν θ’ αἱρουμένους,
τὴν πεῖραν ὑμῖν λήψομαι τῶν δογμάτων,
πρῶτον[4] καπνίζων· εἶτ’ ἐὰν ὀπτωμένων
ἴδω τιν’ ὑμῶν συσπάσαντα τὸ σκέλος,
Ζηνωνικῷ πραθήσεθ’[5] οὗτος κυρίῳ
ἐπ’ ἐξαγωγῇ, τὴν φρόνησιν ἀγνοῶν.

μετὰ παρρησίας γὰρ ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰ αὐτάρκειαν ἀσπάζῃ, φιλόσοφε, τί οὐ τοὺς Πυθ-

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[1] μοι καλός corrupt: Wilam. conj. μύκλος, “ lascivious,” Lumb λευγαλέος, “ miserable.”
[2] ἐν τᾷ Ἑορτᾷ A: ἔν τε Ὀρύᾳ (*cf.* 94 f) Kaibel.
[3] τοὺς added by Porson.

you delight in this name,[a] never mentioning the one by which your mother called you at birth), in my opinion are 'mighty fine and tall,'[b] in the words of your friend Timon,[c] but are not aware that 'conch' has found mention in Epicharmus long before in his *Holiday* and *Islands*,[d] and also in the comic poet Antiphanes, who used a diminutive form for the word in *Marriage*[e]: 'a little bit of conch (*conchion* for *conchos*) and a slice of sausage cut off besides.'"

Thereupon Magnus took the floor and said: "Our altogether excellent Larensis has answered this glutton 'dog' concerning 'conch' keenly and well. But I will follow *The Celts* of the Paphian Sopater[f]: 'Among them it is the custom, whenever they win any success in battle, to sacrifice their captives to the gods; so I, imitating the Celts, have vowed to the heavenly powers that I shall burn three of those counterfeit dialecticians on the altar. Look you! Having heard that you diligently choose philosophy and philology and that you have stoical endurance, I am going to make a test of your doctrines first by smoking them; then, if I see one of you during the roasting pulling up his leg, he shall be sold to a Zenonian master for export, as one who knows not Wisdom.' For I will say to them frankly: if you, my philosopher, really love independence, why

[a] See 1 d.

[b] See critical note; *cf. Il.* xxi. 108, *Od.* xviii. 5.

[c] Frag. 31 Wachsmuth, 187 Diels.

[d] Kaibel 108: the titles should perhaps read "both in the *Orya* ("Sausage") and the *Islands*"; see crit. note.

[e] Kock ii. 40.

[f] Kaibel 193.

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[4] πρῶτον Kaibel: πρόστον A.

[5] πραθήσεθ' Casaubon: παραθήσεθ' A.

αγορικοὺς ἐκείνους ζηλοῖς περὶ ὧν φησιν Ἀντιφάνης
161 μὲν ἐν Μνήμασι τάδε·

τῶν Πυθαγοριστῶν[1] δ' ἔτυχον ἄθλιοί τινες
ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ τρώγοντες ἅλιμα καὶ κακὰ
τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες ἐν τῷ κωρύκῳ.[2]

κἀν τῷ κυρίως Κωρύκῳ δ' ἐπιγραφομένῳ φησί·

πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ πυθαγορίζων ἐσθίει
ἔμψυχον οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ πλείστης τοὐβολοῦ
μάζης μελαγχρῆ μερίδα λαμβάνων λέπει.

b Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ταραντίνοις·

οἱ πυθαγορίζοντες γάρ, ὡς ἀκούομεν,
οὔτ' ὄψον ἐσθίουσιν οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἓν
ἔμψυχον, οἶνόν τ' οὐχὶ πίνουσιν μόνοι.
B. Ἐπιχαρίδης μέντοι κύνας κατεσθίει,
τῶν Πυθαγορείων εἷς. A. ἀποκτείνας γέ που[3]·
οὐκ ἔτι γάρ ἐστ' ἔμψυχον.

προελθών τέ φησι·

πυθαγορισμοὶ καὶ λόγοι
λεπτοὶ διεσμιλευμέναι τε φροντίδες
τρέφουσ' ἐκείνους, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τάδε·
c ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἷς ἑκατέρῳ, ποτήριον
ὕδατος· τοσαῦτα ταῦτα. B. δεσμωτηρίου
λέγεις δίαιταν· πάντες οὕτως οἱ σοφοὶ
διάγουσι καὶ τοιαῦτα κακοπαθοῦσί που;
A. τρυφῶσιν οὗτοι[4] πρὸς ἑτέρους. ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι
Μελανιππίδης ἑταῖρός ἐστι καὶ Φάων
καὶ Φυρόμαχος καὶ Φᾶνος, οἳ δι' ἡμέρας
δειπνοῦσι πέμπτης ἀλφίτων κοτύλην μίαν;

do you not emulate those Pythagoreans concerning whom Antiphanes, in *Memorials*,[a] has these lines? 'Some wretched Pythagorists chanced to be eating salt-wort in the ravine, and, moreover, collecting poor bits of it in their bags.' And in the real *Bag*,[b] as it is entitled, Antiphanes says: 'First of all, like a devotee of Pythagoras, he eats nothing that has life, but takes a sooty piece of barley-cake, the largest possible for a ha'penny, and chews[c] that.' And Alexis in *Men of Tarentum*[d]: 'A. The devotees of Pythagoras, we hear, eat neither fish nor anything else that has life, and they are the only ones who drink no wine. B. Yes, but Epicharides devours dogs, and he is a Pythagorean. A. Of course, after he has killed one, for then it no longer has life!' And going on Alexis says: 'A. Pythagorean subtleties, and fine-spun discourses, and disputations nicely polished nurture those fellows, but their daily food is this: one loaf of simple[e] bread for each, a cup of water. That's all! B. It's prison fare that you tell of. Can it be that all these wise men live like that, and suffer such misery? A. These men live in luxury compared to others. Don't you know that Melanippides is a disciple, and Phaon, Phyromachus, and Phanus, who dine every four days on one half-

[a] Kock ii. 76.
[b] Kock ii. 67.
[c] λέπει, "peels," is slang for "chews." See 170 d, 246 f.
[d] Kock ii. 378.
[e] Lit. "clean," *cf.* 149 e.

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[1] Πυθαγοριστῶν ("later imitators of Pythagoras") Elmsley: Πυθαγορικῶν A ("earlier Pythagoreans"). New Comedy has either Πυθαγορισταί or Πυθαγόρειοι (the last in Aristotle).
[2] ἐν τῷ κωρύκῳ added from following by Koppiers.
[3] γέ που Kock: γενοῦ A.
[4] οὗτοι Cobet: ἕτεροι A.

καὶ ἐν Πυθαγοριζούσῃ·

ἡ δ' ἑστίασις ἰσχάδες καὶ στέμφυλα
d καὶ τυρὸς ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ θύειν νόμος
τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις. B. νὴ Δί', ἱερεῖον μὲν οὖν
ὁποῖον ἂν κάλλιστον, ὦ βέλτιστ', ἔχῃ.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

ἔδει θ' ὑπομεῖναι μικροσιτίαν, ῥύπον,
ῥῖγος, σιωπήν, στυγνότητ',[1] ἀλουσίαν.

Τούτων δ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, οὐδὲν ἀσκεῖτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάντων χαλεπώτατον λαλεῖτε περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἴδατε καὶ ὡς κοσμίως ἐσθίοντες ποιεῖτε τὴν ἔνθεσιν κατὰ τὸν ἥδιστον Ἀντιφάνη· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Δραπεταγωγῷ λέγει·

e κοσμίως ποιῶν τὴν ἔνθεσιν—
μικρὰν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθε, μεστὴν δ' ἔνδοθεν
τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ αἱ γυναῖκες—κατέφαγε[2]
πάμπολλα καὶ παχύτατα,[3]

ἐξὸν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ποιητὴν ἐν Βομβυλιῷ λέγοντα δραχμῆς ὠνήσασθαι

τὰς προσφόρους ὑμῖν τροφάς,
σκορόδια, τυρόν, κρόμμυα, κάππαριν . . .
ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν δραχμῆς.

Ἀριστοφῶν[4] δ' ἐν Πυθαγοριστῇ·

πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλαι ποτὲ
f τοὺς Πυθαγοριστὰς γινομένους ὄντως ῥυπᾶν
ἑκόντας ἢ φορεῖν τρίβωνας ἡδέως;
οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ·

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[1] στυγνότητ' AC: γυμνότητ' ("nakedness") Eustathius 1560. 60.

pint of barley-meal ?' And in *The Lady Devotee of Pythagoras* [a] : 'A. Their entertainment will be dried figs and olive-cakes [b] and cheese ; for to offer these in sacrifice is the Pythagoreans' custom. B. So help me Zeus, good sir, that is the finest "meat" there is.' And after a little : 'They had to put up with sparse diet, dirt, cold, silence, gloom,[c] and going without a bath.'

"But you, my philosophers, practise nothing of this regimen ; on the contrary—and this is the most vexatious of all—you babble about things you know nothing of, and as eaters pretending decorum, you put in your mouthfuls in the way described so pleasantly by Antiphanes. For he says in *The Restorer of Runaways* [d] : 'Decorously putting in a mouthful—making his hand small to be sure in front, but full inside, as the women do—he ate it all up, fully and fattily.' According to this same poet, speaking in *The Bumble-bee*,[e] he might have purchased for a shilling 'the foods which suit you, garlic, cheese, onions, capers—all that for a shilling.' Aristophon in *The Pythagorean Disciple* [f] : 'In the name of the gods, do we really think that those Pythagorean disciples, born in the old days, willingly went dirty or wore old clothes because they wanted to ? It is no such thing, in my opinion. Rather,

[a] Kock ii. 370. [b] The refuse of olives from the oil-press.

[c] See critical note.

[d] Kock ii. 46 ; the title refers to those who made a business of recovering fugitive slaves. Indemnities for their loss, paid by contract, constitute the earliest form of assurance.

[e] Kock ii. 37. [f] Kock ii. 279.

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[2] κατέφαγε Dindorf: καταφάγετε AC.

[3] παχύτατα Kock: ταχύτατα A.

[4] Ἀριστοφῶν Menagius: ἀριστοφάνης AC.

ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἕν,
τῆς εὐτελείας πρόφασιν εὑρόντες καλὴν
ὅρους ἔπηξαν τοῖς πένησι χρησίμους.
ἐπεὶ παράθες αὐτοῖσιν ἰχθῦς ἢ κρέας,
κἂν μὴ κατεσθίωσι καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους,
ἐθέλω κρέμασθαι δεκάκις.

162 οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ᾽ ἐστὶν μνημονεῦσαι καὶ τοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς[1] ποιηθέντος ἐπιγράμματος, ὅπερ παρέθετο ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν ἕκτῳ ὑπομνημάτων·

ὀφρυανασπασίδαι, ῥινεγκαταπηξιγένειοι,
σακκογενειοτρόφοι καὶ λοπαδαρπαγίδαι,
εἱματανωπερίβαλλοι, ἀνηλιποκαββλεπέλαιοι,[2]
νυκτιλαθραιοφάγοι, νυκταπαταμπλάκιοι,[3]
μειρακιεξαπάται καὶ συλλαβοπευσιλαληταί,
b δοξοματαιόσοφοι, ζηταρετησιάδαι.

Ἀρχέστρατός τε ὁ Γελῷος ἐν τῇ Γαστρολογίᾳ—ἣν μόνην ὑμεῖς ῥαψῳδίαν οἱ σοφοὶ ἀσπάζεσθε, μόνον τοῦτο πυθαγορίζοντες τὸ σιωπᾶν, δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν λόγων τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἔτι τε τὴν Σφοδρίου τοῦ κυνικοῦ τέχνην ἐρωτικὴν καὶ τὰς Πρωταγορίδου ἀκροάσεις ἐρωτικὰς Περσαίου τε τοῦ καλοῦ φιλοσόφου συμποτικοὺς διαλόγους c συντεθέντας ἐκ τῶν Στίλπωνος καὶ Ζήνωνος ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἐν οἷς ζητεῖ, ὅπως ἂν μὴ κατακοιμηθῶσιν οἱ συμπόται, καὶ πῶς ταῖς ἐπιχύσεσι χρηστέον πηνίκα τε εἰσακτέον τοὺς ὡραίους καὶ τὰς ὡραίας εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ πότε

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[1] ὑμᾶς Musurus: ἡμᾶς A.

[2] εἱματανωπερίβαλλοι, ἀνηλ. Casaubon, Scaliger: ἀνηλιποκαββλεπέλαιοι Ludwich: ἵνα τὰν ωπερίβαλλ᾽ ὀτάνηλιποκαιβλεπέλαιοι A.

they did it from necessity, possessing not so much as a penny, and having found a good excuse for their frugality, they fixed standards fit for the poor. For just set before them fish or meat; if they don't eat them up, and their own fingers too, I am willing to be strung up a dozen times.' It is not a bad time to recall the epigram, written in your honour, which Hegesander of Delphi has cited in the sixth book of his *Commentaries*[a]: 'Sons-of-eyebrow-raisers, noses-fixed-in-beards, beards-bag-fashion-trimmed, and casserole-pilferers too, cloaks-over-shoulders-slinging, barefoot-shambling-with-eyes-cast-down,[b] night-birds-secretly-feeding, night-sinners-in-deceit, puny-lad-deceivers, and silly-babblers-of-sought-syllables, wise-in-their-vain-conceits, degenerate-sons-of-seekers-after-good.'

"Archestratus of Gela, in his *Gastrology*—this, by the way, is the only epic poem which you wise men like; the only Pythagorean rule you observe is the rule of silence, which you practise only because of your incapacity for discourse; furthermore, you like the *Art of Love* by the Cynic Sphodrias, you like the recitations on love[c] given by Protagorides, and the *Convivial Dialogues* of that noble sage Persaeus, compiled from the memoirs of Stilpo and Zeno. In these, that the banqueters may not fall asleep, questions are raised such as, How should the toasts be ordered? At what hour should the beautiful boys and girls be introduced into the symposium,

[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 413, an epigram on all philosophers.

[b] See critical note; the last part of the word is more probably connected with ἐλαύνω than with ἔλαιον.

[c] The beginnings of the Novel.

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[3] νυκταπαταμπλάκιοι Ludwich: νυκτιπαταιπλάγιοι A.

αὐτοὺς προσδεκτέον ὡραϊζομένους καὶ πότε παραπεμπτέον ὡς ὑπερορῶντας, καὶ περὶ προσοψημάτων καὶ περὶ ἄρτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τε περιεργότερον περὶ φιλημάτων εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωφρονίσκου φιλόσοφος, ὃς περὶ ταῦτα τὴν διάνοιαν ἀεὶ d στρέφων πιστευθείς, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον κωθωνιζόμενος ἐξέπεσεν καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Κορίνθου, καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σικυωνίου Ἀράτου, ὁ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις πρὸς Ζήνωνα διαμιλλώμενος ὡς ὁ σοφὸς πάντως ἂν εἴη καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀγαθός, μόνον τοῦτο διὰ τῶν ἔργων διαβεβαιωσάμενος ὁ καλὸς τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκετιεύς.[1] χαριέντως γὰρ ἔφη Βίων ὁ Βορυσθενίτης θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο "Περσαῖον Ζήνωνος Κιτιᾶ," πεπλανῆσθαι εἶπε τὸν ἐπιγράe ψαντα· δεῖν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν "Περσαῖον Ζήνωνος οἰκετιᾶ." ἦν γὰρ ὄντως οἰκέτης γεγονὼς τοῦ Ζήνωνος, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἱστορίᾳ καὶ Σωτίων ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς. δύο δὲ συγγράμμασι τοῦ Περσαίου ἀπηντήκαμεν τῆς σοφῆς ταύτης πραγματείας, τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, συμποτικῶν διαλόγων.

Κτησίβιος δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὁ Μενεδήμου γνώριμος,

[1] οἰκετιεύς Kaibel (οἰκιτιεύς Schweighäuser): ὁ κιτιεὺς A.

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[a] Or reading, with Kaibel, ἢ after εἴρηκεν and deleting φιλόσοφος, "all that he (Persaeus) has said about kisses with more particularity than the son of Sophroniscus"; Socrates is meant, Xen. *Mem.* ii. 6. 33.

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 48.

[c] Which proved, since he was a poor general, that he was

and when should they be allowed to practise their coquetry, and when should they be sent packing for showing contempt? And then, again, concerning new entrées and kinds of bread, and, among other topics, all that the philosopher son of Sophroniscus has said with some particularity on the subject of kisses.[a] For Persaeus ever turned his mind to these subjects; but having been entrusted by Antigonus with the citadel of Corinth, as Hermippus says,[b] he was ejected when in his cups even from Corinth itself, being out-generalled by Aratus of Sicyon—he who before that had hotly insisted, in his *Dialogues* addressed to Zeno, that the wise man would under all circumstances prove to be a good general as well, the noble 'slave' of Zeno having established this contention by his deeds alone![c] For Bion the Borysthenite, when he saw a bronze statue of him on which was inscribed 'Persaeus, slave of Zeno, of the town of Citium,' remarked wittily that the engraver of the inscription had made a mistake; for (he said) it should read thus: 'Persaeus of Zeno-Slavia.'[d] For he was, as a matter of fact, a slave of Zeno, as Nicias of Nicaea records in his *Inquiry Concerning Philosophers*, and Sotion of Alexandria in his *Successions*.[e] I have come across two volumes of this wise treatise of Persaeus bearing this title, *Convivial Dialogues*.

"Ctesibius of Chalcis, the friend of Menedemus,

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not a wise man. His syllogism was this: All wise men make good generals; I am a wise man; therefore I shall make a good general. The conclusion might be correct, the minor premise was not.

[d] Punning on ὁ Κιτιεύς, "he of Citium," and οἰκετιεύς, "from among his slaves."

[e] *i.e.* successive heads of the philosophic schools.

ὥς φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς βίοις.
f ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος τί περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας
αὐτῷ, ἔφη "ἀσυμβόλως δειπνεῖν." διὸ καὶ ὁ
Τίμων που πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη·

> δειπνομανές, νεβροῦ[1] ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἀκύλιστον.

ἦν δ' εὔστοχος ὁ Κτησίβιος καὶ χαρίεις περὶ τὸ
163 γελοῖον· διὸ καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ συμπόσια
παρεκάλουν· οὐχ ὥσπερ σύ, κυνικέ, ὁ μηδέποτε
ταῖς Χάρισιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῖς Μούσαις θύσας.
φυγοῦσα γοῦν σε καὶ τοὺς σοὶ παραπλησίους ἡ
Ἀρετὴ Ἡδονῇ παρακάθηται, ὥς φησι Μνασάλκης
ὁ Σικυώνιος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν·

> ἅδ' ἐγὼ ἁ τλάμων Ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῇδε κάθημαι
> Ἡδονῇ, αἰσχίστως κειραμένη πλοκάμους,
> θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβολημένα, εἴπερ ἅπασιν
> b ἁ κακόφρων Τέρψις κρεῖσσον ἐμοῦ κέκριται.

Βάτων δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀνδροφόνῳ φησί·

> τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς σώφρονας ἐνταυθοῖ καλῶ,
> τοὺς ἀγαθὸν αὑτοῖς οὐ διδόντας οὐδὲ ἕν,
> τοὺς τὸν φρόνιμον ζητοῦντας ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις
> καὶ ταῖς διατριβαῖς ὥσπερ ἀποδεδρακότα.
> ἄνθρωπ' ἀλάστωρ, διὰ τί συμβολὰς ἔχων
> νήφεις; τί τηλικοῦτον ἀδικεῖς τοὺς θεούς;
> c τί τἀργύριον, ἄνθρωπε, τιμιώτερον
> σαυτοῦ τέθεικας ἢ πέφυκε τῇ φύσει;
> ἀλυσιτελὴς εἶ τῇ πόλει πίνων ὕδωρ·
> τὸν γὰρ γεωργὸν καὶ τὸν ἔμπορον κακοῖς.
> ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς προσόδους μεθύων καλὰς ποῶ.

[1] νεβροῦ Schweighäuser: νεκροῦ AC.

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[a] Of philosophers; p. 102 Wilamowitz.

was once asked by somebody, according to Antigonus of Carystus in his *Lives*,[a] what advantage he had gained from philosophy. He replied, 'Dinners without paying my share.' Wherefore Timon somewhere addressed him in these words,[b] 'Dinner-crazed, with the eyes of a fawn, but with a heart unmoved!' Now Ctesibius could hit the nail on the head and provoke laughter by his wit, consequently he was always being invited to dinners; not like you, Cynic, who have never won the favour of the Muses, to say nothing of the Graces. At any rate, Virtue avoids you and those like you, and takes her seat by the side of Pleasure, as Mnasalces of Sicyon phrases it in epigrammatic verses: 'I, unhappy Virtue, have taken my seat here beside Pleasure, my curly locks shorn in direst disgrace, my soul caught in the meshes of heavy grief, because insane Joy has been preferred to me.' And the comic poet Baton says in *The Murderer*[c]: 'I summon hither the philosophers who are sober, who never give themselves a single good thing, who look for the wise man in their walks[d] and talks, as for one who has run away. Man accursed, why, when you have the money to pay, do you stay sober? Why do such injury to the gods? Why, fellow, have you deemed money more precious than yourself or than it is by nature? You are a dead loss to the community if you drink water; for you wrong the farmer and the merchant. But I, when I drink wine to the full, make their profits

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[b] Frag. 30 Wachsmuth, 188 Diels, parodying *Il.* i. 225. "Eyes of a fawn" refers to the restless look of the parasite hunting for a dinner. See crit. note.

[c] Kock iii. 326.

[d] Lit. "paths" of such groves as the Lyceum, where philosophers gathered; hence "Peripatetic," used of Aristotle's school.

ἔπειθ᾽ ἕωθεν περιάγεις τὴν λήκυθον
καταμανθάνων τοὔλαιον, ὥστε περιφέρειν
ὡρολόγιον δόξεις τι,[1] οὐχὶ λήκυθον.—

Ἀρχέστρατος δέ, ὦ Κύνουλκε, ὃν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὁμήρου d προσκυνεῖς διὰ τὴν γαστέρα—"ἧς οὐ λαμυρώτερον οὐδέν," ὁ Τίμων σου—περὶ τοῦ κυνὸς τοῦ θαλαττίου ἱστορῶν γράφει καὶ ταῦτα·

ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πολλοὶ ἴσασι βροτῶν τόδε θεῖον ἔδεσμα
οὐδ᾽ ἔσθειν ἐθέλουσιν, ὅσοι κεπφαττελεβώδη[2]
ψυχὴν κέκτηνται θνητῶν εἰσίν τ᾽ ἀπόπληκτοι,
ὡς ἀνθρωποφάγου τοῦ θηρίου ὄντος· ἅπας δὲ
ἰχθὺς σάρκα φιλεῖ βροτέην, ἄν που περικύρσῃ·
ὥστε πρέπει καθαρῶς ὁπόσοι τάδε μωρολογοῦσι
τοῖς λαχάνοις προσάγειν καὶ πρὸς Διόδωρον ἰόντας
e τὸν σοφὸν ἐγκρατέως μετ᾽ ἐκείνου πυθαγορίζειν.

ἦν δ᾽ ὁ Διόδωρος οὗτος τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσπένδιος, Πυθαγορικὸς δὲ δόξας εἶναι ὑμῶν τῶν κυνικῶν τρόπον ἔζη, κομῶν καὶ ῥυπῶν καὶ ἀνυποδητῶν. ὅθεν καὶ Πυθαγορικὸν τὸ τῆς κόμης ἔδοξαν εἶναί τινες ἀπὸ τοῦ Διοδώρου προαχθέν, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος. Τίμαιος δ᾽ ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει οὕτως· "Διοδώρου τοῦ τὸ γένος Ἀσπενδίου τὴν ἐξηλλαγμένην εἰσαγαγόντος κατασκευὴν καὶ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις πεπλησιακέναι

[1] δόξεις τι Bergk: δόξει τις A.
[2] ἐθέλουσιν ὅσοι κεπφαττελεβώδη Bentley: ἐθέλουσ᾽ ὅσοι κούφην τε λεβώδη A.

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[a] The meaning is not clear. The water-clock bore some resemblance to an oil-jug. Apparently this sober man, who

good. Yet you carry about your jug from early morning, looking to see if there is oil in it; whence one would think that you carry about a water-clock, not a jug![a]'

"As I was saying,[b] Cynulcus: Archestratus, whom you worship, for your belly's sake, on a par with Homer—'and there is nothing more voracious than that,' to quote your friend Timon[c]—writes as follows an account of the shark[d]: 'Nay, not many mortals know of this heavenly viand or consent to eat it—all those mortals, that is, who possess the puny soul of the booby-bird[e] and are smitten with palsy because, as they say, the creature is a man-eater. But every fish loves human flesh if it can but get it. Wherefore it is the simple duty of all who talk such foolishness to betake themselves to vegetables, and going over to the philosopher Diodorus, to live abstemiously like Pythagoreans in his company.' Now this Diodorus was an Aspendian by birth, and though he was reputed to be a Pythagorean, he lived in the manner of you Cynics, wearing his hair long, and going dirty and bare-footed. Hence some have even thought that this habit of wearing long hair was Pythagorean, having been promulgated by Diodorus, as Hermippus says.[f] And Timaeus of Tauromenium, in the ninth book of his *Histories*,[g] writes about him thus: 'Diodorus, the Aspendian by birth, introduced the eccentric mode of life, and pretended that he had consorted

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is also parsimonious, looks to the contents of his oil-jug as anxiously as a man of business would at a clock.

[b] 162 b. [c] Frag. 56 Wachsmuth, 186 Diels; *cf.* 279 f.

[d] Frag. 28 Ribbeck, 23 Brandt; *cf.* 310 c-e.

[e] Lit. "soul of a wingless-locust-booby."

[f] *F.H.G.* iii. 42. [g] *Ibid.* i. 211.

f προσποιηθέντος· πρὸς ὃν ἐπιστέλλων ὁ Στρατόνικος ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀπαίροντα τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαγγεῖλαι

τῷ περὶ θηροπέπλου μανίας ὕβρεώς τε περιστάσιμον
στοὰν ἔχοντι Πυθαγόρου πελάτᾳ.

Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν τρίτῳ φιλοσόφων διαδοχῆς βαθεῖ πώγωνι χρήσασθαι τὸν Διόδωρον ἱστορεῖ καὶ τρίβωνα ἀναλαβεῖν κόμην τε φορῆσαι[1] κατά τινα τῦφον τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ταύτην προσαγαγόντα,[2] τῶν πρὸ 164 αὐτοῦ Πυθαγορικῶν λαμπρᾷ τε ἐσθῆτι ἀμφιεννυμένων καὶ λουτροῖς καὶ ἀλείμμασι κουρᾷ τε τῇ συνήθει χρωμένων. εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ὄντως, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, τὴν αὐτάρκειαν ἀσπάζεσθε καὶ τὰ τῶν δείπνων εὐτελῆ, τί ἐνταῦθα παραγίνεσθε μηδὲ κληθέντες; ἢ ὡς εἰς ἀσώτιον μαγειρικὰ σκεύη καταλέγειν μαθησόμενοι; ἢ ὡς τὸν Διογένους[3] Κεφαλίωνα ἀποστοματιοῦντες; κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Σοφοκλέους Κηδαλίωνά ἐστε

μαστιγίαι, κέντρωνες, ἀλλοτριοφάγοι.

b Ὅτι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι περὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἀεὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχετε, δέον ὑμᾶς ἐπιφαγεῖν[4] αἰτῆσαι ἢ ἐπεσθίειν τι τῶν κυνικῶν βρωμάτων (οὐδὲ γὰρ "χαριτογλωσσεῖν" ἡμᾶς θέμις), δῆλον ἐξ ὧν καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Λίνῳ ἱστορεῖ. ὑποτίθεται δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα παρὰ τῷ Λίνῳ παιδευόμενον καὶ

[1] After φορῆσαι AC add καί: deleted by Schweighäuser.
[2] προσαγαγόντα AC: προαγαγόντα Schw.: εἰσαγαγόντα Meineke.
[3] Διογένους Reines: ἀθηνογένους A.
[4] τι after ἐπιφαγεῖν deleted by Kaibel; *cf.* 169 a.

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[a] The "Painted Porch" in Athens, meeting-place of the Stoics.
[b] On the title *cf.* 162 e, note.

as a disciple with the Pythagoreans; to him Stratonicus dispatched a messenger, bidding the man as he departed to report his commands "to that henchman of Pythagoras who keeps the Porch [a] crowded with people marvelling at his beast-robed madness and insolence."' Sosicrates, too, in the third book of *The Succession of Philosophers*,[b] records that Diodorus adopted the wearing of a long beard, put on a worn cloak, and grew long hair, introducing this practice as an innovation in order to gratify a kind of vanity, since the Pythagoreans before his time always dressed in white [c] clothing and made use of baths, ointments, and the customary mode of hair-cut. Now if, my philosophers, you really love independence and cheap things to eat, why do you come here where you have not even been invited? Is it as though you had come into a prodigal's house to learn how to make a list of cooking utensils? Or to recite the *Cephalion* of Diogenes? For, in the words of the *Cedalion* of Sophocles,[d] ye are 'rogues from the whipping-post and the rack, devourers of other men's goods.'

"But that you philosophers always have your minds on dinners, when you ought to ask for something in the way of Cynic food to eat up or devour (for it were not lawful for me 'to use pleasing terms'),[e] is plain from what Alexis tells in the play entitled *Linus*. He imagines Heracles as being educated in the house of Linus and as having been bidden to

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[c] Lit. "bright"; *cf.* Polybius x. 5. 1, where λαμπρὰ ἐσθής is used of the *toga candida*, and Iamblichus xxi. 100, where the Pythagoreans' dress is called λευκή.

[d] *T.G.F.*² 202; one title suggests the other, in a kind of pun.

[e] *Cf.* 165 c.

κελευσθέντα ἀπὸ βιβλίων πολλῶν παρακειμένων λαβόντα ἐντυχεῖν. ἐκεῖνος δ' ὀψαρτυτικὸν λαβὼν βιβλίον ἐν χεροῖν περισπουδάστως ἐκράτει. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ Λίνος·

βιβλίον
ἐντεῦθεν ὅ τι βούλει προσελθὼν γὰρ λαβέ·
c ἔπειτ' ἀναγνώσει πάνυ γε διασκοπῶν
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἀτρέμα τε καὶ σχολῇ.
Ὀρφεὺς ἔνεστιν, Ἡσίοδος, τραγῳδίαι,
Χοιρίλος, Ὅμηρος, Ἐπίχαρμος, συγγράμματα
παντοδαπά. δηλώσεις γὰρ οὕτω τὴν φύσιν
ἐπὶ τί μάλισθ' ὥρμηκε. ΗΡ. τουτὶ λαμβάνω.
ΛΙΝ. δεῖξον τί ἐστι πρῶτον. ΗΡ. ὀψαρτυσία,
ὥς φησι τοὐπίγραμμα. ΛΙΝ. φιλόσοφός τις εἶ,
εὔδηλον, ὃς παρεὶς τοσαῦτα γράμματα
d Σίμου τέχνην ἔλαβες. ΗΡ. ὁ Σῖμος δ' ἐστὶ τίς;
ΛΙΝ. μάλ' εὐφυὴς ἄνθρωπος. ἐπὶ τραγῳδίαν
ὥρμηκε νῦν καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποκριτῶν πολὺ
κράτιστός ἐστιν ὀψοποιός, ὡς δοκεῖ
τοῖς χρωμένοις, τῶν δ' ὀψοποιῶν ὑποκριτὴς
κάκιστός ἐστι τοῖς θεωμένοις . . .[1]
ΛΙΝ. βούλιμός ἐσθ' ἄνθρωπος. ΗΡ. ὅτι βούλει
λέγε·
πεινῶ γάρ, εὖ τοῦτ' ἴσθι."

Ταῦτα τοῦ Μάγνου ἑξῆς καταδραμόντος ἀποβλέψας ὁ Κύνουλκος εἰς τοὺς παρόντας τῶν φιλοσόφων ἔφη·

e "εἶδες τὴν Θασίαν ἅλμην οἷ' ἄττα βαΰζει,

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[1] κράτιστος . . . . Warmington: κάκιστός ἐστι τοῖς θεωμένοις adds Gulick, and more is lost.

select from a large number of books lying beside him and read. So he picked up a book on cookery and held it in both hands very carefully. Linus[a] speaks: 'Go up and take whatever book from there you wish; then looking very carefully at the titles, quietly and at your leisure, you shall read. Orpheus is there, Hesiod, tragedies, Choerilus, Homer, Epicharmus, histories of all sorts. For thus shall you show the bent of your nature. HER. This is the one I shall take. LI. Tell me first what it is. HER. Cookery, as the title declares. LI. You are a philosopher,[b] that's very plain; for, paying no attention to all these other writings, you have picked the treatise of Simus. HER. Simus, who's he? LI. A very talented fellow. At present he is keen for tragedy, and of all actors he is much the best cook, in the opinion of those who hire him, but of cooks he is the best actor . . .[c] LIN. The fellow has a morbid hunger. HER. Say what you like of me. I *am* hungry, let me tell you!' "

After Magnus had recited these quotations[d] in order, Cynulcus addressed the philosophers present: "As Cratinus said in *The Archilochi* (*Satirists*)[e]: 'You have seen what sort of insults that Thasian

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[a] Kock ii. 345.

[b] *i.e.* a man of discernment.

[c] See critical note. The next remark of Linus is occasioned by watching Heracles read recipes as eagerly as he would eat the food. Heracles and Linus play here the rôles of Oliver Twist and Squeers.

[d] From 160 d.

[e] Kock i. 13. Archilochus himself and his bitter invective are here referred to. His father led a colony to Thasos off the coast of Thrace. "The blind to the deaf" seems to be a proverb of an ignorant person instructing a stupid one.

ὡς εὖ καὶ ταχέως ἀπετείσατο καὶ παραχρῆμα.
οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς ἔοικε λαλῆσαι,

ὡς ὁ Κρατῖνος ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχιλόχοις ἔφη. ἐπιλανθανόμενος γὰρ ἐν οἷς ποιεῖται δικαστηρίοις τῶν καλῶν ἰάμβων αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου γαστριμαργίας καὶ ἡδυλογίας κολάβρους[1] ἀναγινώσκει καὶ "μέλη πάραυλα κἀκρότητα κύμβαλα." f καὶ μετὰ τὰς καλὰς ταύτας ἀμουσολογίας περιέρχεται τὰς οἰκίας ἐξετάζων ὅπου δεῖπνα λαμπρὰ παρασκευάζεται, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Χαιρεφῶντα ἐκεῖνον, περὶ οὗ φησιν Ἄλεξις ἐν Φυγάδι·

αἰεί γ' ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τιν' εὑρίσκει τέχνην·
καὶ νῦν πορίζεταί γε τὰ δεῖπν' ἀσύμβολα.
ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κέραμος μισθώσιμος
ὁ τοῖς μαγείροις, εὐθὺς[2] ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ
ἕστηκεν ἐλθών· κἂν ἴδῃ μισθούμενον
165 εἰς ἑστίασιν, τοῦ μαγείρου πυθόμενος
τὸν ἑστιῶντα, τῆς θύρας χασμωμένης
ἂν ἐπιλάβηται, πρῶτος εἰσελήλυθεν.

οὐκ ὀκνεῖ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ καλὸς Μάγνος, καὶ ὑπερορίους ἀποδημίας ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γαστρὸς χάριν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Ἄλεξις εἴρηκεν ἐν Συναποθνῄσκουσιν·

ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς Κόρινθον ἐλθὼν Χαιρεφῶν
ἄκλητος· ἤδη γὰρ πέτεται διαπόντιος·
οὕτω τι τἀλλότρι' ἐσθίειν ἐστὶ γλυκύ.

b καὶ Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ ἔφη·

Εὐριπίδου τἄρ' ἐστὶν[3] οὐ κακῶς ἔχον,
τἀλλότρια δειπνεῖν τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα."

pickle barks at us—how neatly and speedily he got his revenge without delay. He is not like the blind talking uselessly to the deaf, let me tell you.' For, oblivious of the court before whom he delivers the display of his clever iambics, and impelled by his native desire to satisfy his belly and his love of jesting, he gives us a recital of wild songs and 'lays discordantly piped and cymbals struck untimely.'[a] And after these nice exhibitions of poor taste he goes about from house to house looking to see where brilliant dinners are preparing, outdoing the poor devil Chaerephon of Athens, of whom Alexis says in *The Refugee*[b]: 'Chaerephon is always inventing some trick; in fact, at this very moment he is trying to get himself dinners for which he pays nothing. For where crockery is exposed for cooks to hire, there he goes, at earliest dawn, and takes his stand; and if he sees it being let out for an entertainment, he learns from the cook who the entertainer is, and if he can but find the front door open wide, he is the first to enter.' And this man, like our noble Magnus, does not hesitate to undertake foreign travel to gratify his appetite; so says the same Alexis in *Dying Together*[c]: 'To get a dinner Chaerephon went uninvited to Corinth; yes, by this time he is flying overseas; so pleasant a thing it is to eat others' food.' And Theopompus said in *Odysseus*[d]: 'The saying of Euripides is not half bad—the really fortunate man dines on others' food.'"

[a] *T.G.F.*^{2} 857; Kock iii. 616.

[b] Kock ii. 391; *cf.* Athen. 229 b.

[c] Kock ii. 374; Plautus wrote a play entitled *Commorientes.*

[d] Kock i. 743, *T.G.F.*^{2} 647.

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[1] *κολάβρους* Casaubon: *κολαρους* A.

[2] *εὐθὺς* Porson: *εὐθέως* A.

[3] *τἄρ' ἐστὶν* Meineke: *τἄριστον* A.

Γελασάντων οὖν πάντων ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· “πόθεν δὲ καὶ ἡδυλογία τοῖς ἡδονικοῖς τούτοις ἁμαρτολόγοις;” πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κύνουλκος· “ἀλλ’, ὦ χοιρίον εὐάρτυτον, Φρύνιχος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν τῷ Ἐφιάλτῃ μνημονεύει τοῦ ἡδυλογεῖν[1] διὰ τούτων·

> ἐστὶν δ’ αὐτούς γε φυλάττεσθαι τῶν νῦν χαλεπώτατον ἔργον.
> c ἔχουσι γάρ τι κέντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις,
> μισάνθρωπον ἄνθος ἥβης·
> εἶθ’ ἡδυλογοῦσιν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιόντες,
> ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ[2] βάθροις ὅταν ὦσιν, ἐκεῖ τούτοις οἷς ἡδυλογοῦσι
> μεγάλας ἀμυχὰς καταμύξαντες καὶ συγκρούσαντες[3] ἅπαντες
> γελῶσι.

τὸ δὲ χαριτογλωσσεῖν Αἰσχύλος εἴρηκεν ἐν Προμηθεῖ δεσμώτῃ·

> γνώσει δὲ τάδ’ ὡς ἔτυμ’, οὐδὲ μάτην
> d χαριτογλωσσεῖν ἔνι μοι.”

Πάλιν τε εἰπόντος τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ· “τίνα δ’ ἐστίν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὰ μαγειρικὰ σκεύη; τούτων γὰρ ἐμνημόνευσαν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς δείπνοις μνήμης ἠξιωμένων. καὶ τὸ ἀσώτιον ποῦ κεῖται; ἀσώτους μὲν γὰρ οἶδα διαβοήτους· ἕνα μὲν οὗ μνημονεύει Ἄλεξις ἐν Κνιδίᾳ·

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[1] ἡδυλογεῖν Kaibel: ἡδυλόγου A.
[2] δὲ added by Meineke.
[3] συγκρούσαντες Kaibel: συγκρύψαντες A.

When, then, all had laughed at this, Ulpian spoke: "That word for 'jesting'[a]—where did these solecistic voluptuaries get it?" Cynulcus answered him: "Why, 'you well-seasoned pig,' the comic poet Phrynichus, in *Ephialtes*,[b] mentions jesting in these lines: 'Of all the jobs we now have to do, the hardest is to protect oneself from them. For they have a kind of sting in their fingers,[c] the flower of man-haters' prime. When they go about the market-place they always speak suavely to all; but when they are seated on the benches,[d] there they all tear great scratches in those to whom they speak so suavely, and with one consent deride them.' But the expression, 'use pleasing terms,' is employed by Aeschylus in *Prometheus Bound*[e]: 'Thou shalt know that this is verily so, nor is it in me to use pleasing terms.'"

Again Ulpian said: "What, my friends, are the utensils used by cooks?" For they had mentioned these as worthy of notice in the account of the Arcadian dinners.[f] "And where is that word 'prodigal's house'[g]? I know indeed of some notorious prodigals. One is mentioned by Alexis in *The Woman of Cnidus*[h]: 'That scamp Diodorus, in

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[a] ἡδυλογία, of Archilochus in 164 e.

[b] Kock i. 370; the verb ἡδυλογεῖν properly means "to speak suavely"; but since "suave" could scarcely be applied to Archilochus, Cynulcus takes ἡδυλογία and ἡδυλογεῖν in the sense of "pleasantries," "witticisms."

[c] *i.e.* the finger of scorn, pointed by the youngsters at their elders.

[d] In a courtroom or at a lecture.

[e] l. 297; *cf.* 164 b.

[f] 149 a.

[g] 164 a.

[h] Kock ii. 333; "made a ball of" is equivalent to "played battledore and shuttlecock with." The figure changes in the last line.

Διόδωρος οὑπίτριπτος ἐν ἔτεσιν δύο
σφαῖραν ἀπέδειξε τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν·
οὕτως ἰταμῶς ἅπαντα κατεμασήσατο.

e ἐν δὲ Φαίδρῳ φησί·

σχολῇ γε, νὴ τὸν ἥλιον, σχολῇ λέγεις.
Ἐπιχαρίδης ὁ μικρὸς ἐν πένθ᾽ ἡμέραις
σφαῖραν ἐποίησε τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν·
οὕτως συνεστρόγγυλεν ἰταμῶς καὶ ταχύ.

καὶ Κτήσιππος δ᾽ ὁ Χαβρίου υἱὸς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν ἀσωτίας ὡς καὶ τοῦ μνήματος τοῦ πατρός, εἰς ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι χιλίας ἀνάλωσαν δραχμάς, τοὺς λίθους πωλῆσαι εἰς τὰς ἡδυπαθείας. Δίφιλος γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Ἐναγίζουσί φησι·

f εἰ μὴ συνήθης, Φαίδιμ᾽, ὢν[1] ἐτύγχανεν
ὁ Χαβρίου Κτήσιππος, εἰσηγησάμην
νόμον ἄν[2] τιν᾽ οὐκ ἄχρηστον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
ὥστ᾽ ἐπιτελεσθῆναί ποτ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς
τὸ μνῆμα κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα . . . λίθον
ἁμαξιαῖον, καὶ σφόδρ᾽ εὐτελὲς λέγω.

Τιμοκλῆς δ᾽ ἐν Δημοσατύροις φησίν·

οὐδ᾽ ὁ Χαβρίου Κτήσιππος ἔτι τρὶς κείρεται,
166 ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶ λαμπρός, οὐκ ἐν ἀνδράσιν.

καὶ Μένανδρος δ᾽ ἐν Ὀργῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγει·

καίτοι νέος ποτ᾽ ἐγενόμην κἀγώ, γύναι·
ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐλούμην πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας
τότ᾽, ἀλλὰ νῦν· οὐδὲ χλανίδ᾽ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ νῦν·
οὐδὲ μύρον εἶχον, ἀλλὰ νῦν· καὶ βάψομαι
καὶ παρατιλοῦμαι νὴ Δία καὶ γενήσομαι

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[1] Φαίδιμ᾽, ὢν Dobree; Φαιδίμῳ γ᾽ A.

only two years, has made a football of his patrimony, so rashly has he chewed up all that he had.' And in *Phaedrus* [a] he says: 'Slowly indeed, yes, by the sun, slowly, you say! That little Epicharides in five days has made a football of his patrimony, so rashly and speedily has he squeezed it up into a ball.' And Ctesippus also, the son of Chabrias, went so far in his prodigality that, to indulge in his pleasures, he actually sold the stones of his father's monument, on which Athens had spent a thousand drachmas. At any rate, Diphilus says in *Worshippers of the Dead* [b]: "If, Phaedimus, Ctesippus, son of Chabrias, had not happened to be a friend, I should have proposed a law not unuseful, in my opinion—that his father's monument should be some day completed, one stone at a time each year, each large enough to fill a cart, and very cheap material too, say I.' Timocles in *Satyrs of the People* [c] says: 'No longer does even Ctesippus, son of Chabrias, shave three times a day, bright spark among the ladies, but not among true men.' And Menander says this about him in *Temperament* [d]: 'And yet, wife, I too was once a young man, but in those days I did not bathe five times a day. Now I do. I did not own a fine cloak either. Now I do. Nor did I have perfume. Now I have. And I will have my hair dyed, yes, Zeus be my witness, I will pluck myself smooth, and in a little while I will become Ctesippus

[a] Kock ii. 387; the first line is ironical. *Cf.* 58 a.

[b] More properly Ἐναγίσμασι, *Offerings to the Dead*, Kock ii. 552.

[c] Kock ii. 452.

[d] Or *Anger*. Kock iii. 105, Allinson 416. The first play of Menander which won him a victory (315 B.C.). See Capps, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xxi. 60.

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[2] ἂν added by Kock.

Κτήσιππος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ,
b κᾆθ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατέδομαι καὶ τοὺς λίθους
ἀπαξάπαντας, οὐ γὰρ οὖν τὴν γῆν μόνην.

τάχ' οὖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην ἀσωτίαν καὶ κιναιδίαν τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ παρέλιπε Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀτελειῶν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς τὰ πατρῷα κατεδηδοκότας κατὰ τὸν Μενάνδρου Ναύκληρον οὕτως κολάζεσθαι. φησὶν γάρ·

ὦ φιλτάτη Γῆ μῆτερ, ὡς σεμνὸν σφόδρ' εἶ
τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι κτῆμα πολλοῦ τ' ἄξιον.
ὡς δῆτ' ἐχρῆν εἴ τις πατρῴαν παραλαβὼν
c γῆν καταφάγοι, πλεῖν τοῦτον ἤδη διὰ τέλους
καὶ μηδ' ἐπιβαίνειν γῆς, ἵν' οὕτως ᾔσθετο
οἷον παραλαβὼν ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἐφείσατο.

Πυθοδήλου δέ τινος ἀσώτου μνημονεύει Ἀξιόνικος ἐν Τυρρηνῷ οὕτως·

ὁ Πυθόδηλος οὑτοσὶ
ὁ Βαλλίων[1] προσέρχετ' ἐπικαλούμενος,
μεθύουσά τ' ἐξόπισθεν ἡ σοφωτάτη
Ἀποτυμπανισχὰς[2] κατὰ πόδας πορεύεται.

d Πολύευκτον δ' Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Τηρεῖ κωμῳδῶν·

ὄρνις κεκλήσῃ (φησί). Β. διὰ τί, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας;
πότερον καταφαγὼν τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν,
ὥσπερ Πολύευκτος ὁ καλός; Α. οὐ δῆτ', ἀλλ' ὅτι
ἄρρην ὑπὸ θηλειῶν κατεκόπης.

Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, ἀφ' ἧς τινες τὸ τελευταῖον μέρος χωρίσαντες,

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[1] *οὑτοσὶ ὁ Βαλλίων* Elmsley and Dobree: *οὗτος ἰσοβαλλίων* A.

[2] *ἀποτυμπανισχὰς* A: *πρὸς* (Fritzsche) or *περὶ* (Herwerden) *τύμπαν' Ἰσχάς* (?), "Ischas, clever at the tambourine."

and not a man, and then, like him, I will eat up the very stones, every one of them; at any rate I won't eat my land and nothing else.' It may be, then, that on account of this great extravagance and licentiousness Demosthenes omitted naming him in the speech *On Exemptions*.[a] Men who have devoured their inheritances ought to be punished in the way described in Menander's *Skipper*[b]: 'O dearest mother earth, how very reverend a possession, and beyond price, art thou in the eyes of sensible men! For it were only right, of course, that anyone who had inherited an ancestral estate and then devoured it should from that time on for ever sail the seas, and never so much as set foot on land, that he might thus come to see how good a thing he had inherited but failed to save.'

"A prodigal named Pythodelus is mentioned by Axionicus in *The Etruscan*[c] thus: 'Here comes Pythodelus, surnamed the Dancer, and close at his heels behind him comes reeling that clever girl, Bastinado-fig.'[d] And Anaxandrides holds up Polyeuctus to ridicule in *Tereus*.[e] He says: 'A. You shall bear the name Rooster.—B. Why, in the name of the hearth goddess? Is it because I have eaten up my father's property, as the noble Polyeuctus did? A. No, of course not; it's because you, a male, have been pecked to pieces by females.' Theopompus, in the tenth book of his *History of Philip*[f] (though some deny the authenticity of the last part, dealing

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[a] *Orat.* 20.
[b] Kock iii. 102, Allinson 414.
[c] Kock ii. 412.
[d] *Ischas*, "dried fig," was a courtesan's name. See crit. note.
[e] Kock ii. 156.
[f] *F.H.G.* i. 293.

ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγῶν, . . . Εὔβουλόν φησι τὸν δημαγωγὸν ἄσωτον γενέσθαι. e τῇ λέξει δὲ ταύτῃ ἐχρήσατο· 'καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀσωτίᾳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ διενήνοχε τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ταραντίνων ὅσον ὁ μὲν περὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις εἶχε μόνον ἀκρατῶς, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς προσόδους καταμισθοφορῶν διατετέλεκε. Καλλίστρατος δέ, φησίν, ὁ Καλλικράτους δημαγωγὸς καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἡδονὰς ἦν ἀκρατής, τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ἐπιμελής.' περὶ δὲ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ[1] πεντηκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν γράφει οὕτως· 'ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ταραντίνων σχεδὸν καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα βουθυτεῖ καὶ δημοσίας[2] ἑστιάσεις ποιεῖται. f τὸ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλῆθος αἰεὶ περὶ συνουσίας καὶ πότους ἐστί. λέγουσι δὲ καί τινα τοιοῦτον λόγον οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ φιλοπονεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐργασίας διατρίβειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ζῆν, αὐτοὺς δὲ διὰ τὰς συνουσίας καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἤδη βιῶναι.'

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀσωτίας καὶ τοῦ βίου Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ μθ' τῶν ἱστοριῶν ὁ 167 Θεόπομπος τάδε γράφει· 'Φίλιππος ἐπεὶ ἐγκρατὴς πολλῶν ἐγένετο χρημάτων οὐκ ἀνάλωσεν αὐτὰ ταχέως, ἀλλ' ἐξέβαλε καὶ ἔρριψε, πάντων ἀνθρώπων κάκιστος ὢν οἰκονόμος οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν· ἁπλῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἠπίστατο ζῆν ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ σωφρόνως οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν. τοῦ δ'[3] αὐτὸς αἴτιος ἦν ἄπληστος καὶ πολυτελὴς

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[1] καὶ added by Kaibel. [2] δημοσίας Benseler: δημοσίᾳ A.
[3] τοῦ δ' A: τούτου Dobree.

with the popular leaders at Athens)—says that the popular leader Eubulus was a prodigal. The language he used is as follows: 'To such an extent has he outdone the people of Tarentum in extravagance and greed, that whereas they were intemperate simply in the matter of banquets, he has made a constant practice of spending even the revenues of Athens to hire mercenaries. But Callistratus, he continues, the son of Callicrates, likewise a popular leader, though he was intemperate in personal indulgence, was careful of the public interests.' And recording the history of Tarentum in the fifty-second book of his *Histories*[a] he writes as follows: 'The city of Tarentum offers sacrifices of oxen and holds public banquets nearly every month. The mass of common people is always busy with parties and drinking-bouts. And the Tarentines have a saying of some such purport as this, that whereas the rest of the world, in their devotion to work and their preoccupation with various forms of industry, are always preparing to live, they themselves, with their parties and their pleasures, do not put off living, but live already.'

"Concerning the extravagance and mode of life of Philip and his companions Theopompus writes the following in the forty-ninth book of the *Histories*[b]: 'After Philip had become possessor of a large fortune he did not spend it fast. No! he threw it outdoors and cast it away, being the worst manager in the world. This was true of his companions as well as himself. For to put it unqualifiedly, not one of them knew how to live uprightly or to manage an estate discreetly. He himself was to blame for this; being insatiable and extravagant, he did everything

[a] *F.H.G.* i. 322.

[b] *Ibid.* i. 320.

ὤν, προχείρως ἅπαντα ποιῶν καὶ κτώμενος καὶ διδούς. στρατιώτης γὰρ ὢν λογίζεσθαι τὰ προσιόντα καὶ τἀναλισκόμενα δι' ἀσχολίαν οὐκ b ἠδύνατο. ἔπειτα δ' οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων ἦσαν συνερρυηκότες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, οὐκ ἀριστίνδην ἐξειλεγμένοι, ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάροις λάσταυρος ἢ βδελυρὸς ἢ θρασὺς τὸν τρόπον, οὗτοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀθροισθέντες ἑταῖροι Φιλίππου προσηγορεύοντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτός τις ὢν[1] ἐληλύθει, ὑπὸ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς διαίτης τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ταχέως ἐκείνοις ὅμοιος c ἐγίνετο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι καὶ αἱ στρατεῖαι, τὰ δὲ[2] καὶ αἱ πολυτέλειαι θρασεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι προετρέποντο καὶ ζῆν μὴ κοσμίως, ἀλλ' ἀσώτως καὶ τοῖς λῃσταῖς παραπλησίως.'

Δοῦρις δ' ἐν ζ' Μακεδονικῶν περὶ Πασικύπρου λέγων τοῦ ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλέως ὅτι ἄσωτος ἦν γράφει καὶ τάδε· ''Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τὴν Τύρου πολιορκίαν Πνυταγόραν ἀποστέλλων ἄλλας τε δωρεὰς ἔδωκε καὶ χωρίον ὃ ᾐτήσατο. πρότερον δὲ τοῦτο Πασίκυπρος ὁ βασιλεύων ἀπέδοτο δι' d ἀσωτίαν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων Πυγμαλίωνι[3] τῷ Κιτιεῖ, ἅμα τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ βασιλείαν· καὶ λαβὼν τὰ χρήματα κατεγήρασεν ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι.' τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰθίοψ ὁ Κορίνθιος,

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[1] ὢν added by Meineke. [2] τὰ δὲ added by Villebrun.
[3] Πυγμαλίωνι Kaibel: πυμάτωνι AC. *Cf.* Diod. xix. 79. 4.

in a reckless manner, whether he was acquiring or giving. For as a soldier he had no time to count up revenues and expenditures. Add to this also that his companions were men who had rushed to his side from very many quarters; some were from the land to which he himself belonged,[a] others were from Thessaly, still others were from all the rest of Greece, selected not for their supreme merit; on the contrary, nearly every man in the Greek or barbarian world of a lecherous, loathsome, or ruffianly character flocked to Macedonia and won the title of "companions of Philip." And even supposing that one of them was not of this sort when he came, he soon became like all the rest, under the influence of the Macedonian life and habits. It was partly the wars and campaigns, partly also the extravagances of living that incited them to be ruffians, and live, not in a law-abiding spirit, but prodigally and like highwaymen.'

"Duris, in the seventh book of his *Macedonian History*,[b] speaking of Pasicyprus, king of Cyprus, and his prodigality, writes the following: 'After the siege of Tyre, Alexander, in dismissing Pnytagoras, gave him among other presents a fortress which he himself had asked for. This fortress the reigning king Pasicyprus had before this been compelled by his extravagance to sell for fifty talents to Pygmalion of Citium; along with the fortress went his kingdom too. Pasicyprus took the money and passed his old age in Amathus.' Another spendthrift of this sort, according to Demetrius of Skepsis,[c]

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[a] Macedonia; "the land itself," "the very land," a curious expression for "his own land."

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 472.

[c] Frag. 73 Gaede.

ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος, οὗ μνημονεύει
Ἀρχίλοχος. ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γὰρ καὶ ἀκρασίας
καὶ οὗτος μετ' Ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικελίαν ὅτ'
ἔμελλεν κτίζειν Συρακούσας τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσσίτῳ
μελιτούττης ἀπέδοτο τὸν κλῆρον ὃν ἐν Συρακούσαις
λαχὼν ἔμελλεν ἕξειν. ‘εἰς τοσοῦτον δ' ἀσωτίας
e ἐληλύθει καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως
ἀπόγονος, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, ὥστε Ἀρισταγόραν μὲν ἔχειν τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐρωμένην, ζῆν
δὲ πολυτελῶς. ἀνακαλεσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν
Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν καὶ κελευόντων βέλτιον ζῆν, ‘ἀλλὰ
καὶ νῦν, εἶπεν, ἐλευθερίως ζῶ. καὶ γὰρ ἑταίραν
ἔχω τὴν καλλίστην καὶ ἀδικῶ οὐδένα καὶ πίνω
Χῖον οἶνον καὶ τἄλλ' ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζομαι,
τῶν ἰδίων μου προσόδων εἰς ταῦτα ἐκποιουσῶν,
οὐ καθάπερ ὑμῶν ἔνιοι δεκαζόμενος ζῶ καὶ
f μοιχεύων.' καὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πραττόντων
καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματός τινας κατέλεξε. ταῦτα δ'
ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς θεσμοθέτην αὐτὸν
κατέστησεν. τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἵππαρχος ὢν
ἰκρίον ἔστησε πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς Ἀρισταγόρᾳ μετεωρότερον τῶν Ἑρμῶν, Ἐλευσῖνί τε μυστηρίων
ὄντων ἔθηκεν αὐτῇ θρόνον παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον,
οἰμώξεσθαι φήσας τοὺς κωλύσοντας.”

168 Ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ἀσώτους καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἔκ τινος
περιουσίας ζῶντας τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνεκαλοῦντο οἱ

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[a] *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 145; Aethiops (“Swarthy”) is the Esau (“Hairy”) of Greek history. Both got their names from bodily peculiarities.

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 415.

[c] Antigonus Gonatas, Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, ii. 223.

was Aethiops of Corinth, who is mentioned by Archilochus.[a] For, pleasure-loving and lacking self-control, he, when sailing with Archias to Sicily at the time when Archias was going to found Syracuse, sold to his messmate for a honey-cake the share which he had drawn by lot and was to have in Syracuse. 'Demetrius, the grandson of Demetrius of Phalerum,' as Hegesander[b] says, 'went to such extremes of prodigality that he kept Aristagora of Corinth as his mistress and lived sumptuously. And when the Areopagites summoned him before them and bade him live a better life, he replied, "But I am living as becomes a man of breeding as it is. For I have a mistress who is very fair, I have never wronged any man, I drink Chian wine, and in all other respects I contrive to satisfy myself, since my private revenues are sufficient for these purposes; I do not, as some of you do, live as a venal judge or adulterer." Thereupon he designated by name some who made a practice of these things. And when King Antigonus[c] heard this, he made him a judge.[d] At the Panathenaea, as commander of horse, he reared beside the Hermae[e] a platform for Aristagora higher than the Hermae; and at Eleusis, at the time of the Mysteries, he placed a throne for her beside the temple, after threatening that any who should try to prevent him would be sorry for it.'

"That all prodigals, and persons who did not live according to their means, were in ancient times summoned before the Areopagites and punished by

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[d] *Thesmothetes*, one of the six junior archons in Athens.

[e] Images of Hermes which stood in a row in the Athenian market-place, before which the Panathenaic procession passed.

Ἀρεοπαγῖται καὶ ἐκόλαζον, ἱστόρησαν Φανόδημος
καὶ Φιλόχορος ἄλλοι τε πλείους. Μενέδημον γοῦν
καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην τοὺς φιλοσόφους νέους ὄντας
καὶ πενομένους μεταπεμψάμενοι ἠρώτησαν πῶς
ὅλας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῖς φιλοσόφοις συσχολάζοντες,
κεκτημένοι δὲ μηδέν, εὐεκτοῦσιν οὕτω τοῖς
σώμασι· καὶ οἱ ἐκέλευσαν μεταπεμφθῆναί τινα
b τῶν μυλωθρῶν. ἐλθόντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος
ὅτι νυκτὸς ἑκάστης κατιόντες εἰς τὸν μυλῶνα
καὶ ἀλοῦντες δύο δραχμὰς ἀμφότεροι λαμβάνουσι,
θαυμάσαντες οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται διακοσίαις δραχμαῖς
ἐτίμησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Δημόκριτον δ' Ἀβδηρῖται
δημοσίᾳ κρίνοντες ὡς κατεφθαρκότα τὰ πατρῷα,
ἐπειδὴ ἀναγνοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν μέγαν διάκοσμον καὶ
τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου εἰπὼν[1] εἰς ταῦτα ἀνηλωκέναι,
ἀφείθη. οἱ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἄσωτοι κατὰ τὸν Ἄμφιν·

πίνουσ' ἑκάστης ἡμέρας δι' ἡμέρας,

c διασειόμενοι τοὺς κροτάφους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου,
καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δίφιλον "κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες τρεῖς
ὥσπερ Ἀρτεμίσιον," "πολέμιοι τῆς οὐσίας ὑπάρχοντες,
ὡς Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ χαρακτήρων
εἴρηκεν, κατατρέχοντες τὸν ἀγρόν, διαρπάζοντες
τὴν οἰκίαν, λαφυροπωλοῦντες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, σκοποῦντες
οὐ τί δεδαπάνηται ἀλλὰ τί δαπανηθήσεται,
οὐδὲ τί περιέσται ἀλλὰ τί οὐ περιέσται, ἐν τῇ
d νεότητι τὰ τοῦ γήρως ἐφόδια προκαταναλίσκοντες,

[1] εἰπὼν A: εἶπεν C. The sentence is defective.

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[a] *F.H.G.* i. 368. [b] *Ibid.* 394.

[c] An example *e contrario*, as often in Athen.

[d] Kock ii. 248; the words διασειόμενοι τοὺς κροτάφους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου, though adapted by the speaker to his own sentence, also belong to the poet, *cf.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 1276.

them, is recorded by Phanodemus [a] and Philochorus [b] and several others. For example,[c] they sent for the philosophers, Menedemus and Asclepiades, when they were young and poor, and asked them how it was that though they spent all their days in leisurely association with the philosophers, and possessed no property, yet they were in such good bodily condition; and they told the judges to summon a certain miller. When he arrived he deposed that every night they came to his mill and ground, receiving, both together, two shillings; and in admiration the Areopagites rewarded them with ten pounds. Again, the people of Abdera summoned Democritus to trial in court on the charge of having squandered his patrimony; but when he had read them his great *Order of the Universe* and told them about the nether world, he explained that he had spent all on these researches, and was acquitted. Those, however, who are not prodigal in this sense, in the words of Amphis,[d] 'Drink every day throughout the day,' with temples badly shaken by the unmixed wine; or, as Diphilus [e] says, 'carrying three heads, like an image of Artemis.'[f] 'They are enemies of their own property,' as Satyrus says in his work *On Characters*,[g] 'trampling down their fields, pillaging their houses, looting their funds, looking not to what has been spent but to what is going to be spent, not to what will be left over but to what will not be left over; in their youth squandering too soon the provision

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[e] Kock ii. 577; Eustath. 1504. 62 says that drunken men feel as if they had many heads.

[f] Referring to the three-faced (τριπρόσωπα) images of Artemis or Hecate, "Diana of the Cross-roads."

[g] *F.H.G.* iii. 164.

χαίροντες τῇ ἑταίρᾳ, οὐ τοῖς ἑταίροις, καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ, οὐ τοῖς συμπόταις." Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ᾽ ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ πρὸς ταῖς κʹ τῶν Εὐρωπιακῶν "Γνώσιππον, φησίν, ἄσωτον γενόμενον ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἐκώλυον οἱ ἔφοροι συναναστρέφεσθαι τοῖς νέοις." παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μνημονεύεται, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν, Ἀπίκιόν τινα ἐπὶ ἀσωτίᾳ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερηκοντικέναι. οὗτος δ᾽ ἐστὶν Ἀπίκιος ὁ καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αἴτιος γενόμενος Ῥουτιλίῳ τῷ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκδεδωκότι τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ. περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου τοῦ καὶ[1] αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἀσωτίᾳ διαβοήτου ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις εἰρήκαμεν.

Διογένης δ᾽ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ εὐγενείας "τὸν Φωκίωνος υἱόν, φησί, Φῶκον οὐκ ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐμίσει Ἀθηναίων· καὶ ὁπότε ἀπαντήσειέ τις αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν 'ὦ καταισχύνας τὸ γένος.' πάντα γὰρ ἀνάλωσε τὰ πατρῷα εἰς ἀσωτίαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκολάκευε τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Μουνυχίας· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πάλιν
f ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπερραπίζετο. ἐπιδόσεων δέ ποτε γινομένων παρελθὼν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔφη 'ἐπιδίδωμι κἀγώ,' καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνεβόησαν 'εἰς ἀκολασίαν.' ἦν δ᾽ ὁ Φῶκος καὶ φιλοπότης. νικήσαντος γοῦν αὐτοῦ ἵπποις

[1] For περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου τοῦ καὶ should probably be read περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου ἄλλου καί, "concerning another Apicius."

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[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 193. The Ephors were the five elders who constituted a Board of Control in all Spartan affairs.

[b] *Ibid.* 265. The Apicius here mentioned is not the writer

for their old age, delighting in a mistress, not in mates, and in wine, not in the company at wine.' And Agatharchides of Cnidus, in the twenty-eighth book of his *European History*,[a] says: 'The Ephors in Sparta debarred Gnosippus, since he had proved to be a prodigal, from associating with the young men.' Among the Romans it is recalled, as Poseidonius says in the forty-ninth book of his *Histories*,[b] that a certain Apicius had outdone the whole world in prodigality. This Apicius is the man who caused the banishment of Rutilius, who had published his *History of Rome* in the Greek language. Concerning an Apicius who also was notorious for prodigality, we have spoken in the first book.[c]

"Diogenes of Babylon in his work on *Noble Birth*[d] says that there was not a man in Athens who did not hate Phocus, the son of Phocion; and whenever one met Phocus he would say to him, 'O you disgrace to your family!' For he spent all his ancestral estate in prodigality, and then began to toady to the ruler of Munichia,[e] for which he was again castigated by all. And once, when donations, over and above taxes, were being subscribed, he came forward also in person before the assembly and said, 'I myself donate'[f]; and all the Athenians with one consent cried out, 'Yes, to profligacy.' Phocus was also a drink-lover. At any rate, he

on cookery (see Vol. i. Introduction) but lived much earlier. Rutilius Rufus was exiled in 93 B.C. See 274 c.

[c] 7 a.

[d] Apparently a study of eugenics historically considered.

[e] Either the commander of the Macedonian garrison on the Munichian hill which controlled Peiraeus (Wilamowitz) or "the hero of neat-wine drinking," 39 c (Kaibel).

[f] ἐπιδίδωμι may be used, as here, of voluntary contributions to a good cause or of misplaced devotion to a bad.

Παναθήναια[1] ὡς ὁ πατὴρ εἱστία τοὺς ἑταίρους,
συνελθόντων εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον λαμπρὰ μὲν ἦν ἡ
παρασκευὴ καὶ τοῖς εἰσιοῦσι προσεφέροντο
169 ποδονιπτῆρες οἴνου δι' ἀρωμάτων. οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ πατὴρ
καλέσας τὸν Φῶκον 'οὐ παύσεις, ἔφη, τὸν ἑταῖρον
διαφθείροντά σου τὴν νίκην;' οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους
ἀσώτους πολλούς, περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν καταλείπω ζητεῖν,
πλὴν Καλλίου τοῦ Ἱππονίκου, ὃν καὶ οἱ τῶν
παίδων οἴδασι παιδαγωγοί. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
ὧν φθάνω προβεβληκὼς εἴ τι λέγειν ἔχετε, 'ἀναπεπταμένας
ἔχω τῶν ὤτων τὰς πύλας.' ὥστε
λέγετε· ἐπιζητῶ γὰρ καὶ ὅπερ ὁ[2] Μάγνος εἴρηκε τὸ
ἐπεσθίειν καὶ τὸ ἐπιφαγεῖν."

Καὶ ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη· "τὸ μὲν ἀσώτιον ἔχεις παρὰ Στράττιδι ἐν Χρυσίππῳ λέγοντι οὕτως·

b εἰ μηδὲ[3] χέσαι γ' αὐτῷ σχολὴ γενήσεται
μηδ' εἰς ἀσώτιον τραπέσθαι μηδ' ἐὰν
αὐτῷ ξυναντᾷ τις, λαλῆσαι μηδὲ ἕν.[4]

ΜΑΓΕΙΡΙΚΑ δὲ ΣΚΕΥΗ καταριθμεῖται Ἀνάξιππος ἐν Κιθαρῳδῷ οὕτως·

ζωμήρυσιν φέροις, ὀβελίσκους δώδεκα,
κρεάγραν, θυίαν, τυροκνῆστιν παιδικήν,

[1] Παναθήναια Nauck: παναθηναίοις A.
[2] ὅπερ ὁ added by Wilamowitz (ὁ Casaubon).
[3] εἰ μηδὲ A: εἰ μὴ Kock.
[4] μηδὲ ἕν Meineke: μηδενὶ A.

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[a] Plutarch, *Phoc.* 20, tells this story more lucidly. Phocion, the father, was not the host. On the contrary, he not only gave no banquet, but he had also refused the invitations of others. Yielding at last to the solicitation of one of his son's friends, he attended a dinner in his son's honour. "When he saw the foot-basins, filled with spiced wine,

once won in a horse race at the Panathenaea; and when his father entertained his companions with a banquet, the company, on arriving at the dinner, found the preparations elaborate; and as they came in there were brought to them vessels for washing the feet, filled with spiced wine. When his father saw them, he called to Phocus and said, 'Make your comrade stop spoiling your victory!'[a] I know of many other prodigal men besides, but I leave you to inquire into the history of them all excepting Callias the son of Hipponicus, whose story is known even to the slaves who attend schoolboys. But if you have anything to say on the other subjects which I have propounded for discussion before anyone else, 'I hold the portals of my ears spread open wide.'[b] Wherefore speak. For I again ask about the expressions which Magnus used,[c] 'to eat up and devour.'"

And Aemilianus said: "You have the word 'prodigals' house' in Strattis, who says in *Chrysippus*[d]: 'If a body isn't going to have time even to relieve himself, or go to a prodigal's house, or when someone meets him, to stop and say a single word!'"

Cooking utensils are enumerated by Anaxippus in *The Harp-singer*[e] thus: "Bring a soup ladle, a dozen skewers, a meat hook, mortar, small cheese

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offered to the guests as they entered, he called to his son and said, 'Make your comrade stop spoiling your victory!'"

[b] Modification of an iambic line? Here end the remarks of Ulpian begun at 165 d. The exposition by Aemilianus seems to extend to 174 a. [c] 164 a.

[d] Kock i. 726; a young man complains of his father's restrictions.

[e] Kock iii. 300.

στελεόν, σκαφίδας τρεῖς, δορίδα,[1] κοπίδας τέτταρας.
οὐ μὴ πρότερον οἴσεις,[2] θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὲ σύ,
c τὸ λεβήτιον, τἀκ τοῦ νίτρου[3]· πάλιν ὑστερεῖς;
καὶ τὴν κύβηλιν, τὴν ταγηνιστηρίαν.[4]

Τὴν χύτραν δ' Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Σκηνὰς καταλαμβανούσαις κακκάβην εἴρηκεν οὕτως·

τὴν κακκάβην γὰρ κᾶε. **Β.** τοῦ διδασκάλου;[5]

κἀν Δαιταλεῦσι·

κἄγειν ἐκεῖθεν κακκάβην.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Φιλοθηβαίῳ·

πάντ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν· ἥ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος
τῆς ἔνδον οὔσης ἔγχελυς Βοιωτία
μιχθεῖσα κοίλοις ἐν βυθοῖσι κακκάβης
d χλιαίνετ', αἴρεθ', ἕψεται, παφλάζεται.

βατάνιον δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Εὐθυδίκῳ·

ἔπειτα πουλύπους τετμημένος
ἐν βατανίοισιν[6] ἑφθός.

Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἀσκληπιοκλείδῃ·

οὕτως δ' ὀψοποιεῖν εὐφυῶς
περὶ τὴν[7] Σικελίαν αὐτὸς ἔμαθον ὥστε τοὺς
δειπνοῦντας εἰς τὰ βατάνι' ἐμβάλλειν ποῶ[8]
ἐνίοτε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

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[1] δορίδα Casaubon: διριδα A.
[2] οἴσεις Villebrun: νεύσεις A.
[3] τἀκ τοῦ νίτρου Meineke: κἀκ τοῦ ληρου A.
[4] ταγηνιστηρίαν Meineke: ἀγωνιστηρίαν A.

scraper, skillet,[a] three bowls, a skinning knife, four cleavers. First bring, won't you, you abomination in the eyes of the gods, the small kettle and the things from the soda-shop.[b] Late again, are you? Bring also the axe and the rack of frying-pans."

The pot used for boiling is called *caccabê* by Aristophanes in *Women who get the Best Places*,[c] thus: "A. Put the pot on the fire.—B. What, the teacher's?" Also in *Men of Dinnerville*[d]: "And bring the pot from there." Antiphanes in *The Pro-Theban*[e]: "We now have everything; for the creature which bears the same name as our lady inside, Boeotian 'eel,' is tightly enveloped in the hollow depths of the pot (*caccabê*); it's getting hot, rising high, stewing and spluttering." But in *Euthydicus* Antiphanes calls the pot *batanion*[f]: "After that, sliced octopus stewed in pots (*batania*)." So Alexis in *Asclepiocleides*[g]: "With such natural aptitude have I learned in Sicily to make fancy dishes, that I cause the feasters now and then to push their teeth into

[a] "stirring stick"? *στελεόν* is properly "axe-haft." *Cf.* 74 a.

[b] *τὸ νίτρον*, "the soda," was that place in the market where dry groceries were sold.

[c] Lit. "who preëmpt the tents," *i.e.* best places for setting up tents at the games, parades, fairs, etc. Kock i. 515. *κακκάβη* in these passages suggests *κακκᾶν*, Lat. *cacare*.

[d] Kock i. 445.

[e] Kock ii. 105; *cf.* Athen. 622 f. Apparently the courtesan giving the dinner was named Enchelys, "Eel."

[f] Kock ii. 49. [g] Kock ii. 306; *cf.* 107 d.

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[5] The punctuation and assignment of the words to two speakers are due to Capps.

[6] *βατανίοισιν* Casaubon: *βατάνοισιν* AC.

[7] *τὴν* added by Casaubon.

[8] *ἐμβάλλειν ποῶ* 107 d: *ἐκβαλεῖν ποιῶ* A.

πατάνιον δὲ διὰ τοῦ π̄ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Γάμῳ[1]·

e πατάνια, σεῦτλον, σίλφιον, χύτρας, λύχνους,
κορίαννα, κρόμμυ', ἅλας, ἔλαιον, τρυβλίον.

Φιλέταιρος Οἰνοπίωνι·

ὁ μάγειρος οὗτος Πατανίων προσελθέτω.

καὶ πάλιν·

πλείους Στρατονίκου τοὺς μαθητάς μοι δοκεῖ
ἕξειν Πατανίων.

ἐν δὲ Παρασίτῳ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τάδε εἴρηκεν·

ἄλλος ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγας
ἥξει τις ἰσοτράπεζος εὐγενής— B. τίνα
λέγεις; A. Καρύστου θρέμμα, γηγενής, ζέων—
f B. εἶτ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις; ὕπαγε. A. κάκκαβον λέγω·
σὺ δ' ἴσως ἂν εἴποις λοπάδ'. B. ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὔνομα
οἴει διαφέρειν, εἴτε κάκκαβόν τινες
χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες εἴτε σίττυβον,
πλὴν ὅτι λέγεις ἀγγεῖον οἶδα;

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Ἴωνι καὶ[2] βατάνια καὶ πατάνια λέγει ἐν τούτοις·

τρυβλία δὲ καὶ βατάνια καὶ κακκάβια καὶ
λοπάδια καὶ πατάνια ποικιλόθροα καὶ—[3]
οὐδ' ἂν λέγων λέξαιμι.

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[1] Γάμῳ Bekker *An.* 84. 13: σάμῳ A.

[2] καὶ A: τὰ Kock ("calls *batania patania*," *i.e.* has the form in *p*, like Antiphanes).

the pots for very joy." But Antiphanes has *patanion*, spelled with *p*, in *Marriage*[a]: "Pots (*patania*), a beet, silphium, boilers, lamps, coriander, onions, salt, olive-oil, a bowl." Philetaerus in *Oenopion*[b]: "Let this cook Potter advance!" And again: "Methinks Potter will have more pupils than Victor." In *The Parasite*[c] Antiphanes also has this: "A. Following this another will come, large, filling the table, well-born[d]—B. Whom are you talking about?—A. A creature from Carystus,[d] gigantic,[e] seething.—B. Well, aren't you going to tell me? Get on!—A. *Caccabus* I mean; you, perhaps, would call him *Casserole*.—B. Do you think it makes any difference to me whether people like to call it *Caccabus* or *Sittybus*,[f] provided that I know that you are talking about a pot?" But Eubulus, in *Ion*,[g] has both forms, *batania* and *patania*, in these lines: "Bowls, and basins (*batania*) too, and kettles, casseroles, and patens (*patania*), sounding in various tones, and—I couldn't begin to tell you if I began to tell."

[a] Kock ii. 40; from the form πατάνη (colloquial πατάνιον) came Lat. *patina*, Eng. *pan*.

[b] Kock ii. 234.

[c] Kock ii. 85.

[d] Punning on the first syllable; *eugenes* suggests Euboea, the southern cape of which is Carystus. *Cf.* 135 e, "casseroles from Euboea."

[e] Or "earth-born."

[f] The speaker (B.) is trying to emulate the pedant by citing strange words. He picks *sittybus* ("label" or "title," a piece of leather pasted to a scroll), the meaning of which he does not know himself.

[g] Kock ii. 177; the text is defective, and it is not easy to see how Eubulus could use two forms which differ in dialect merely. See crit. note.

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[3] ποικιλόθροα καὶ Gulick: πυκνὰ ταρβα καὶ A.

170 ΗΔΥΣΜΑΤΩΝ δὲ κατάλογον Ἄλεξις ἐποιήσατο ἐν Λέβητι οὕτως·

. . . μὴ προφάσεις ἐνταῦθά μοι, μηδ' "οὐκ ἔχω."
Β. ἀλλὰ λέγ' ὅτου δεῖ[1]· λήψομαι γὰρ πάντ' ἐγώ.
Α. ὀρθῶς γε· πρῶτον μὲν λάβ' ἐλθὼν σήσαμα.
Β. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἔνδον. Α. ἀσταφίδα κεκομμένην,
μάραθον, ἄνηθον, νᾶπυ, καυλόν, σίλφιον,
κορίαννον αὖον, ῥοῦν, κύμινον, κάππαριν,
b ὀρίγανον, γήτειον, σκόροδον, θύμον,
σφάκον, σίραιον, σέσελι, πήγανον, πράσον.

ἐν δὲ Παννυχίδι ἢ Ἐρίθοις· μάγειρον δὲ ποιεῖ λέγοντα·

κύκλῳ δεήσει περιτρέχειν με καὶ βοᾶν,
ἂν του δέωμαι. δεῖπνον αἰτήσεις με σὺ
ἤδη παρελθών; οὐκ ἔχων δὲ τυγχάνω
οὐκ ὄξος, οὐκ ἄνηθον, οὐκ ὀρίγανον,
οὐ θρῖον, οὐκ ἔλαιον, οὐκ ἀμυγδάλας,
οὐ σκόροδον, οὐ σίραιον, οὐχὶ γήθυον,
c οὐ βολβόν, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ κύμινον, οὐχ ἅλας,
οὐκ ᾠόν, οὐ ξύλ', οὐ σκάφην, οὐ τήγανον,
οὐχ ἱμονιάν, οὐ λάκκον εἶδον, οὐ φρέαρ·
οὐ στάμνος ἔστι· διακενῆς δ' ἕστηκ' ἐγὼ
ἔχων μάχαιραν, προσέτι περιεζωσμένος.

κἂν Πονήρᾳ·

τῆς ὀριγάνου
πρώτιστον ὑποθεὶς[2] εἰς λοπάδα νεανικὴν
τὸ τρίμμ' ἐπιπολῆς εὐρύθμως διειμένον
ὄξει, σιραίῳ χρωματίσας καὶ σιλφίῳ,
πυκνῷ πατάξας.[3]

Alexis has made his own list of seasonings in *The Melting-pot* [a] as follows: "A. No excuses for me here! No 'I haven't got any'!—B. Well, tell me what you need. I will get everything.—A. All right. Then first go and get sesame seeds.—B. But I have them in the house.—A. A mashed raisin, some fennel, anise, mustard, kale,[b] silphium, dried coriander, sumach, cummin, capers, marjoram, horn-onion, garlic, thyme, sage, must, hart-wort. rue, leek." Another list is in *The Vigil*, or *Toilers* [c]; he represents a cook as saying: "I'll [d] have to run round and round and shout for anything I may need. You will demand of me your dinner just as soon as you arrive? But I have, as it happens, no vinegar, no anise, no marjoram, no fig-leaves, no oil, no almonds, no garlic, no must, horn-onion, bulb, fire, cummin, salt, egg, wood, kneading-trough, frying-pan, well-rope—I have not seen cistern or well. There is no wine jar, and I stand here all in vain, knife in hand, and what's more, my loins girt up for action." And in *The Love-lorn Lass* [e]: "First of all put some marjoram at the bottom of a large casserole, over that the liqueur, diluted with vinegar in just measure, colouring it with must and silphium; then whip it vigorously."

[a] Kock ii. 343, *cf.* Pollux vi. 66.

[b] Or "cauliflower."

[c] Kock ii. 362.

[d] A cook complains that he has no helper and no supplies. The fig-leaf was often used to wrap and serve food in, like the leaf of grape or cabbage to-day. *Cf.* Athen. 9 a, 131 d.

[e] Kock ii. 367.

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[1] *λέγ' ὅτου δεῖ* Dobree: *λέγοντα ουδεῖ* A.

[2] *ὑποθεὶς* Casaubon: *ὑποτιθεὶς* A.

[3] *καταπάσας* Kock, *'πισάξας* Lumb, "sprinkling over it."

d Ἐπεσθίειν εἴρηκε Τηλεκλείδης Πρυτάνεσιν οὕτως· "τυρίον ἐπεσθίοντα." ἐπιφαγεῖν δ' Εὔπολις Ταξιάρχοις·

ἐπιφαγεῖν
μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ κρόμμυον λέποντα[1] καὶ τρεῖς ἁλμάδας.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ·

πρὸ τοῦ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἅπαντ' ἐπήσθιεν.

Τῶν δὲ ΜΑΓΕΙΡΩΝ διάφοροί τινες ἦσαν οἱ καλούμενοι τραπεζοποιοί. εἰς ὃ δὲ οὗτοι παρελαμβάνοντο σαφῶς παρίστησιν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μετοίκῳ·

προσέλαβον ἐλθὼν τουτονὶ
τραπεζοποιόν, ὃς πλυνεῖ σκεύη, λύχνους
e ἑτοιμάσει, σπονδὰς ποιήσει, τἄλλ' ὅσα
τούτῳ προσήκει.

ζητητέον δὲ εἰ καὶ ὁ τραπεζοκόμος ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ τραπεζοποιῷ. Ἰόβας γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς Ὁμοιότησι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναί φησι τραπεζοκόμον καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλούμενον στρούκτωρα, παρατιθέμενος ἐκ δράματος Ἀλεξάνδρου ᾧ ἐπιγραφὴ Πότος·

εἰς αὔριόν με δεῖ λαβεῖν αὐλητρίδα.
τραπεζοποιόν, δημιουργὸν λήψομαι·
ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἀπέστειλ' ἐξ ἀγροῦ μ' ὁ δεσπότης.

ἐκάλουν δὲ τραπεζοποιὸν τὸν τραπεζῶν ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας. Φιλήμων Παρεισιόντι·

περὶ τοὐπτάνιον οὐ γίνεθ' ἡ σκευωρία[2]·
τραπεζοποιός ἐστ' ἐπὶ τοῦ διακονεῖν.

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[1] λέποντα Meineke: βλέποντα A.

To "eat up" is used by Telecleides thus in *The Prytanes*[a]: "Eating up a little cheese." Eupolis has the aorist of the verb in *The Taxiarchs*[b]: "To eat up nothing, but merely chew an onion and three salted olives." And Aristophanes in *Plutus*[c]: "In the old days, such was his poverty, he would eat up anything."

Different from the *cooks* were the so-called "table-makers." What these men were called in for is plainly shown by Antiphanes in *The Immigrant*[d]: "I went and hired in addition this table-maker, who will wash the dishes, get the lamps ready, prepare the libations, and do everything else which it is his business to do." We may, however, ask whether the "table-server" is the same as the "table-maker." For King Juba, in *Similarities*, says that "table-server" and the person called by the Romans *structor* are one and the same, citing lines from a play by Alexander entitled *The Drinking-bout*[e]: "For to-morrow I must secure a flute-girl; I will get a 'table-maker' and a caterer. This is what my master sent me from the country for." They used to call table-maker the man who took care of the tables and the correct serving of the dinner in general. Philemon in *Butting In*[f]: "You have no oversight in the kitchen; a table-maker is appointed

[a] Presiding officers in the Athenian Council and Assembly; Kock i. 215, *cf.* Athen. 486 a.

[b] Commanders of the tribal quotas in the Athenian army; Kock i. 328.

[c] l. 1005, where, however, the best reading is ὑπήσθιεν.

[d] Kock ii. 73.

[e] Kock iii. 372.

[f] Kock ii. 493; a cook is vindicating his own authority against that of a τραπεζοποιός.

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[2] σκευωρία Pursan: σκεπτωρία A.

ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ἐπιτραπεζώματα τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα τῇ τραπέζῃ βρώματα. Πλάτων Μενελάῳ·

171 ὡς ὀλίγα λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων.

ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστὴν τὸν τὰ ὄψα ὠνούμενον, νῦν δ' ὀψωνάτωρα, ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων οὑτωσὶ λέγων· "διάκονον δ' ἂν καὶ ἀγοραστὴν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐθέλοιμεν προῖκα λαβεῖν;" παρὰ δὲ Μενάνδρῳ ἐστὶ κοινότερον ἐν Φανίῳ·

φειδωλὸς ἦν καὶ μέτριος ἀγοραστής.

ὀψώνην δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς διὰ τούτων·

b ὡς οὐψώνης διατρίβειν
ἡμῖν τἄριστον ἔοικε.

παροψωνεῖν δ' ἔφη Κρατῖνος ἐν Κλεοβουλίναις οὕτως . . . παραγοράζειν δὲ Ἄλεξις ἐν Δρωπίδῃ. εἰλέατροι δὲ καλοῦνται, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος, οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν καλοῦντες τράπεζαν παρὰ τὸ ἐλεόν. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δ' αὐτοὺς δειπνοκλήτορας ὀνομάζει. ἐκάλουν δέ, φησί, καὶ τοὺς προγεύστας ἐδεάτρους,[1] ὅτι προήσθιον τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. νῦν δὲ ὁ ἐδέατρος[2] ἐπιστάτης γέγονε τῆς ὅλης διακονίας. ἦν δ' ἐπιφανὴς καὶ ἔντιμος ἡ χρεία. Χάρης γοῦν ἐν τῇ γʹ τῶν ἱστοριῶν

[1] ἐδεάτρους Valckenaer: αιδεελαιατρους A.
[2] ἐδέατρος Valckenaer: ἐλαιατρος A.

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[a] Kock i. 622; *cf.* Athen. 641 b.
[b] A Latin formation, from Greek ὀψωνῶ, "buy victuals."

to serve." They used to call the viands placed upon the table (*trapeza*) *epitrapezomata.* Plato in *Menelaus*[a]: "How little is left over of the things upon the table!" They used also to call the man who purchased the food "marketer" (*agorastes*), though to-day we call him "obsonator"[b]; thus Xenophon, in the second book of *Memorabilia*,[c] has these words: "Should we consent to take a servant and a marketer of this quality for nothing?" But in Menander's *Phanium*[d] it has a more general sense: "He was a thrifty and moderate purchaser." Aristophanes has the form *opsones* for "marketer" in *Masters of the Frying-Pan*,[e] in these lines: "How that marketer seems to be delaying our luncheon!" Cratinus used a verb meaning "to buy dainties besides" in *The Cleobulinas*[f] . . ., and Alexis has a verb "buy in the market beside," in *Dropides.*[g] Those who give the summons to come to the king's table, as Pamphilus says, are called "table-men," from *eleon*, which means "meat-table." But Artemidorus names them "dinner-summoners." He[h] further says that they used to call the foretasters "eaters," because they ate before the king to ensure his safety. But in our day the "eater" has become the superintendent of the entire service; his office was distinguished and honourable. Chares, at any rate, in the third book of his *Histories*[i] says

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[c] i. 5. 2. The division into books of many works differed from that known to-day.

[d] Kock iii. 143; Allinson 446.

[e] Kock i. 521.

[f] *Riddle-propounders*, from Cleobulina, daughter of Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men; Kock i. 41. The quotation is lost.

[g] Kock ii. 318.

[h] *i.e.*, the original writer of the note on these words.

[i] p. 116 Müller.

c Πτολεμαῖόν φησι τὸν Σωτῆρα ἐδέατρον ἀποδειχθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρου. μήποτε δὲ καὶ ὃν νῦν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρωτογεύστην[1] τότε οἱ Ἕλληνες προτένθην ὠνόμαζον, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν προτέραις Νεφέλαις διὰ τούτων·

> ΣΤΡ. πῶς οὐ δέχονται δῆτα τῇ νουμηνίᾳ
> ἀρχαὶ τὰ πρυτανεῖ', ἀλλ' ἕνῃ τε καὶ νέᾳ;
> ΦΕΙΔ. ὅπερ οἱ προτένθαι γὰρ δοκοῦσίν μοι παθεῖν·
> ἵν' ὡς τάχιστα τὰ πρυτανεῖ' ὑφελοίατο,
> d διὰ τοῦτο προὐτένθευσαν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Ἀγρίοις·

> μὴ θαυμάσῃς·
> τῶν γὰρ προτενθῶν ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σύ.

καὶ Φιλύλλιος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ·

> βούλεσθε δῆτ' ἐγὼ φράσω τίς εἰμ' ἐγώ;
> ἡ τῶν προτενθῶν Δορπία καλουμένη.

εὑρίσκω δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ ὥσπερ τι σύστημα
e οἱ προτένθαι εἰσί, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ παράσιτοι ὀνομαζόμενοι, ἔχον οὕτως· “Φῶκος εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν ἡ βουλὴ ἄγῃ τὰ Ἀπατούρια μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς βουλευτὰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἅσπερ καὶ

[1] Since προγεύστην, the reading in A, here=Lat. *gustatorem* which in the glossaries is rendered πρωτογεύστην, Kaibel reads πρωτογεύστην here.

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[a] *Nub.* 1196 ff.; τὰ πρυτανεῖα were the sums of money required of litigants in advance as a guarantee of good faith.

that Ptolemy Soter was appointed "eater" for Alexander. Perhaps also the man whom Romans to-day call "foretaster" was he whom Greeks in the old days used to name *protenthes*, as Aristophanes has it in the earlier edition of the *Clouds*,[a] in these lines: "STREPSIADES: How is it, then, that the magistrates don't accept these pledges on the first day of the month, instead of on the last[b]? PHEIDIPPIDES: Why, I fancy they are subject to the same weakness as the foretasters—in their desire to grab the pledges as early as possible, they 'foretaste' them by a whole day." Pherecrates also mentions foretasters in *Savages*[c]: "Do not wonder; for we are foretasters, though you do not know it." And Philyllius in *Heracles*[d]: "Shall I tell you then, so please you, who I am? I am one of the foretasters, and my name is Luncheonetta." I also find a decree passed at Athens in the archonship of Cephisodorus,[e] in which the "foretasters" are a kind of college, exactly like the order called Parasitoi.[f] It runs thus: "On the motion of Phocus, in order that the Council may celebrate the Apaturia in company with all other Athenians according to ancestral practice, be it decreed by the Council that its members be dismissed during those days on which all the other officials entitled to a holiday are celebrating, for

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[b] *i.e.*, the day preceding; ἕνη καὶ νέα, "old and new (moon)" was the name of the last day in the month.

[c] Kock i. 147.

[d] Kock i. 784; Δορπία is the name given to the first day of the Apaturia, an ancient autumn festival of the Attic phratries.

[e] 323-2 B.C. The Council mentioned is probably the Areopagus.

[f] Not parasites in the sense of the New Comedy, but a class of priests who dined at the public table. See 234 c.

αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ[1] αἱ ἀφεταὶ[2] ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς οἱ προτένθαι ἄγουσι πέντε ἡμέρας." ὅτι δ' εἶχον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τοὺς προγεύστας καλουμένους Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἱέρωνι ἢ τυραννικῷ
f φησιν· "ὁ τύραννος οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἀντὶ τοῦ[3] ἀπάρχεσθαι θεοῖς τοῖς διακονοῦσι[4] πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακόν τι φάγωσιν ἢ πίωσιν." Ἀναξίλας δ' ἐν Καλυψοῖ φησιν·

172 προγεύσεταί[5] σοι πρῶτον ἡ γραῦς τοῦ ποτοῦ.

Τοὺς δὲ τὰ πέμματα προσέτι τε τοὺς ποιοῦντας τοὺς πλακοῦντας οἱ πρότερον δημιουργοὺς ἐκάλουν. Μένανδρος Ψευδηρακλεῖ· καταμεμφόμενος δὲ τοὺς μαγείρους ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ οἷς μὴ δεῖ φησιν·

μάγειρ', ἀηδής μοι δοκεῖς εἶναι σφόδρα.
πόσας τραπέζας μέλλομεν ποιεῖν, τρίτον
ἤδη μ' ἐρωτᾷς. χοιρίδιον ἓν θύομεν,
ὀκτὼ ποιήσοντες τραπέζας δ' ἢ μίαν,
b τί σοι διαφέρει τοῦτο; παράθες σήμερον.[6]
οὐκ ἔστι κανδύλους ποεῖν οὐδ' οἷα σὺ
εἴωθας εἰς ταὐτὸν καρυκεύειν μέλι,
σεμίδαλιν, ᾠά· πάντα γὰρ τἀναντία
νῦν ἐστιν· ὁ μάγειρος γὰρ ἐγχύτους ποεῖ,
πλακοῦντας ὀπτᾷ, χόνδρον ἕψει καὶ φέρει
μετὰ τὸ τάριχος, εἶτα θρῖον καὶ βότρυς·

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[1] ἀρχαὶ Wilamowitz: βουλαὶ A.
[2] αἱ ἀφεταὶ Porson: διαφεται A.
[3] ἀντὶ τοῦ A: πρὶν τοῦ Xenophon.
[4] τοῖς διακονοῦσι A: τοὺς διακόνους Xen.
[5] προγεύσεται Musurus: παρογεύσεται A.
[6] σήμερον Allinson: σημίαν A (dittography).

five days beginning with the day on which the Foretasters begin the celebration." That the ancients used to have also the foretasters called *progeustae* Xenophon tells us in the work entitled *Hieron*, or *The Tyrant's Character*[a]: "The tyrant lives in distrust even of food and drink; why, instead of being the first to offer the gods the consecrating morsel, they bid their serving-men take a taste first because of their suspicion that even in this rite they may eat or drink something harmful." And Anaxilas says in *Calypso*[b]: "First, the old woman will be the foretaster of your wine."

Again, the men of earlier times called those who made cakes, and especially those who made the large flat-cakes, "artisans." Menander, in *Sham Heracles*,[c] scolding the cooks because they undertake matters which are none of their business, says: "Cook, in my eyes you are very obnoxious. 'How many tables are we going to set?' It's the third time, already, that you have asked that. We are killing for the sacrifice one little pig; but whether we shall set up eight tables or only one, what difference does that make to you? Serve the dinner to-day! You haven't any rich titbits[d] to make, nor the kind of sauces which you usually mix in it, consisting of honey, sifted flour, and eggs; no, for nowadays things are completely turned round. It is the *cook* who makes cakes in moulds, bakes flat-cakes, boils groats and serves them after the salt-fish, and then a dish in fig-leaves and some

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[a] 4. 2.

[b] Kock ii. 266.

[c] Kock iii. 148; Allinson 458.

[d] καvδύλους, a rich dish of Lydian origin (Athen. 9 a).

ἡ δημιουργὸς δ' ἀντιπαρατεταγμένη
κρεᾴδι' ὀπτᾷ καὶ κίχλας τραγήματα.
ἔπειθ' ὁ δειπνῶν μὲν τραγηματίζεται,
c μυρισάμενος δὲ καὶ στεφανωσάμενος πάλιν
δειπνεῖ μελίπηκτα ταῖς κίχλαις.[1]

ὅτι δὲ ἐκεχώριστο τὰ τῆς ὑπουργίας, πεμμάτων μὲν προνοουσῶν τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὀψαρτυτικῆς δὲ τῶν μαγείρων, Ἀντιφάνης διεσάφησεν ἐν Χρυσίδι οὕτως·

τέτταρες δ' αὐλητρίδες
ἔχουσι μισθὸν καὶ μάγειροι δώδεκα
καὶ δημιουργοὶ μέλιτος αἰτοῦσαι σκάφας.

Μένανδρος Δημιουργῷ·

τί τοῦτο, παῖ; διακονικῶς γὰρ νὴ Δία
d προελήλυθας. Β. ναί· πλάττομεν γὰρ πλάσματα,[2]
τὴν νύκτα τ' ἠγρυπνήκαμεν· καὶ νῦν ἔτι
ἀποίητα πάμπολλ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν.

πεμμάτων δὲ πρῶτόν φησιν μνημονεῦσαι Πανύασσιν Σέλευκος, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνθρωποθυσίας διηγεῖται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι λέγων πέμματα, "πολλὰς δὲ νοσσάδας ὄρνις," προτέρου Στησιχόρου ἢ Ἰβύκου ἐν τοῖς Ἄθλοις ἐπιγραφομένοις εἰρηκότος φέρεσθαι τῇ παρθένῳ δῶρα

e σασαμίδας χόνδρον τε καὶ ἐγκρίδας,
ἄλλα τε πέμματα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν.

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[1] Porson suggests τὰς κίχλας "of thrushes as if they were honey cakes."

[2] πλάσματα AC: πέμματα Meineke.

grapes. Meanwhile the "artisan," a woman, posted to rival him, roasts bits of meat and thrushes as if for dessert; and as a consequence the guest expecting "dinner" has dessert to eat, but after anointing himself and putting on a wreath he again eats a "dinner"[a] of honey-cakes—with thrushes!" That the duties of their office had been separate, the "artisans" looking after the cakes while the cooks saw to the preparation of fish and meat, is clearly shown by Antiphanes in *Chrysis*[b] thus: "Four flute-girls have to be paid, and a dozen cooks and artisans, who demand honey by the bowl-ful." Menander in *The Artisan*[c]: "A. What does this mean, slave? Zeus is my witness, you have come forth with bustling briskness. B. Ay, for we have creations to create,[d] and so we the whole night long have lain sleepless; even now there is very much still unfinished on our hands." Seleucus says that Panyassis was the first to mention cakes in the account[e] which he gives of human sacrifice among the Egyptians; he says that upon the victims they placed many cakes, "and many nestling fowls," although even before him Stesichorus or Ibycus, in the poem entitled *The Games*,[f] had said that presents were brought to the maiden, "sesame cakes, groats, oil-and-honey cakes, other sweet cakes, and yellow

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[a] *i.e.*, his dinner has become dessert, and his dessert, dinner. For the wreath see Athen. 674 b.

[b] Name of a courtesan. Kock ii. 110; a man is complaining of his son's extravagance in giving a dinner.

[c] Kock iii. 34; Allinson 342.

[d] Referring to the original confections expected of him.

[e] *Frag. ep.* 26.

[f] *i.e.*, the funeral games in honour of Pelias, *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 2.

ὅτι δὲ τὸ ποίημα τοῦτο Στησιχόρου ἐστὶν ἱκανώτατος μάρτυς Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητής, ὃς περὶ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενός φησιν·

ὃς δουρὶ πάντας
νίκασε νέους δινάεντα βαλὼν
Ἄναυρον ὕπερ πολυβότρυος ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ·
οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἠδὲ Στασίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς.

f ὁ γὰρ Στησίχορος οὕτως εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ ᾄσματι τοῖς Ἄθλοις·

θρῴσκων μὲν γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος, ἄκοντι δὲ νίκασεν Μελέαγρος.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶν[1] δὲ καὶ περὶ Δηλίων ἃ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος εἴρηκεν ὅτι μαγείρων καὶ τραπεζοποιῶν παρείχοντο χρείας τοῖς παραγινομένοις πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
173 πράξεων ὀνόματα Μαγίδες καὶ Γογγύλοι, ἐπειδὴ τὰς μάζας, φησὶν Ἀριστοφάνης,[2] ἐν ταῖς θοίναις δι' ἡμέρας τρίβοντες παρεῖχον ὥσπερ[3] γυναιξὶ γογγύλας μεμαγμένας. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τινες αὐτῶν Χοίρακοι καὶ Ἀμνοὶ καὶ Ἀρτυσίλεῳ καὶ Σήσαμοι καὶ Ἀρτυσίτραγοι καὶ Κρεωκόροι[4] καὶ Ἰχθυβόλοι, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν Κυμινάνθαι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντες Ἐλεοδύται διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐλεοῖς ὑποδύεσθαι διακονοῦντες ἐν ταῖς

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[1] Musurus ἀγνοῶ. The text is defective.

[2] Ἀριστοφάνης Schweighäuser: ἀριστοτέλης AC.

[3] ἐν after ὥσπερ (for ὡσπερεὶ ?) deleted by Schweighäuser.

[4] Κρεωκόροι Gulick (Κρεωβόροι Kaibel), formed like νεωκόροι (the reading in A), "caring for a temple."

honey." To show that this poem is by Stesichorus, the poet Simonides is a very competent witness, for he, in telling the story of Meleager,[a] says: "Who at point of spear overcame all the warriors, driving them beyond the eddying Anaurus out of Iolcus, rich in grapes. For thus did Homer and Stesichorus sing to the folk." Indeed, Stesichorus has this verse in the poem just cited, *The Games*[b]: "For Amphiaraus won in leaping, but Meleager with the javelin."

I am not unaware,[c] either, of what Apollodorus of Athens has said concerning the people of Delos, that they used to supply the services of cooks and "table-makers" to all who came to Delos for the sacred rites, and that they had names derived from their functions, such as Barley-Witches and Rounders; because throughout the day during the festivals, as Aristophanes says,[d] they moulded barley-cakes and offered them, as to women, kneaded round. And even to this day some of them are called Porcellians, or Rammers, or Kitchen-folk, or Sesames, or Kitchen-bucks, or Meat-boys,[e] or Fish-slingers, while of the women some are called Cummin-blows, while all share the common name of Table-dodgers, because they have to dodge among meat-trays (*eleoi*) as they

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[a] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 53. [b] *Ibid.* frag. 3. [c] See crit. note.

[d] *Peace* 27; in Aristophanes a slave of Trygaeus complains of the fastidious beetle which his master compels him to feed: *φαγεῖν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ ἣν μὴ παραθῶ τρίψας δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης ὥσπερ γυναικὶ γογγύλην μεμαγμένην*, "he deigns not to eat unless I rub it all day and serve it to him, as to a woman, kneaded in round shape." In Μαγίς there is also allusion to μάγος, "magician."

[e] See critical note. Ἄμνος, Ἀρτυσίλεως, and Σησάμη are actually found: Dittenberger, *Sylloge*^{2} 588. 86, *Bulletin de corr. hellén.*, 1882, 327.

θοίναις. ἐλεὸς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ μαγειρικὴ τράπεζα. Ὅμηρος·

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ὤπτησε καὶ εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν ἔθηκε.

b ὅθεν καὶ Πολυκράτων ὁ Κρίθωνος Ῥηναιεὺς δίκην γραφόμενος οὐ Δηλίους αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλεοδυτῶν ἐπῃτιάσατο. καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ νόμος κελεύει ὕδωρ παρέχειν ἐλεοδύτας, τοὺς τραπεζοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους διακόνους σημαίνων. Κρίτων δ' ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν Φιλοπράγμονι παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖ τοὺς Δηλίους διὰ τούτων·

> Φοίνικα μεγάλου κύριον βαλλαντίου
> ναύκληρον ἐν τῷ λιμένι ποιήσας ἄπλουν
> καὶ φορμιῶσαι ναῦς ἀναγκάσας δύο,[1]
> εἰς Δῆλον ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς,
> πάντων ἀκούων διότι παρασίτῳ τόπος
> οὗτος τρία μόνος[2] ἀγαθὰ κεκτῆσθαι δοκεῖ,
> εὔοψον ἀγοράν, παντοδαπὸν ὁρμοῦντ'[3] ὄχλον,
> αὐτοὺς παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Δηλίους.

Ἀχαιὸς δ' ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς ἐν Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ σατυρικῷ καρυκκοποιοὺς καλεῖ τοὺς Δελφοὺς διὰ τούτων·

> d καρυκκοποιοὺς προσβλέπων βδελύττομαι,

παρόσον τὰ ἱερεῖα περιτέμνοντες δῆλον ὡς ἐμαγείρευον αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκαρύκκευον. εἰς ταῦτα δὲ ἀποβλέπων καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη·

> ἀλλ' ὦ Δελφῶν πλείστας ἀκονῶν,

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[1] A corrupt line. Kock conj. φορτί' ὠμὰ ναῦς θ' ἅμ' ἐγκάψας δύο, "having eaten up two cargoes alive and their ships besides."

serve the food during the festivals. Now the *eleos* is the cook's table. Homer[a]: "When, then, he had roasted and placed upon trays." Hence Polycraton of Rhenaea, the son of Crithon, when he brought suit against them did not name them Delians, but brought charges against the "commonwealth of table-dodgers" And even the law of the Amphictyons requires that water shall be supplied by "table-dodgers," meaning the "table-makers" and servants of that sort. Criton the comic poet, in *The Busybody*,[b] calls the Delians "parasites of the god" in these lines: "He, causing a Phoenician skipper, master of a mighty purse, to give up his voyage, and compelling him to bring two ships to anchor, wanted to go from Peiraeus to Delos, because he had heard that that was the one place in all the world which was reputed to possess three blessings for a parasite—a market well supplied with delicacies, a throng of idlers from all parts, and the Delians the very parasites of the god."

Achaeus of Eretria, in the satyric play *Alcmeon*,[c] calls the people of Delphi "spiced-gravy-makers" in these lines: "I am sick of looking at spiced-gravy-makers," inasmuch as after trimming the meat of sacrifice they cooked it and served it with spiced sauces. And having regard to that Aristophanes[d] also said: "But thou, Phoebus, who dost whet most

[a] *Iliad* ix. 215.

[b] Kock iii. 354; the text bristles with uncertainties, but the subject seems to be a parasite. See critical note. For παράσιτοι see 171 e.

[c] *T.G.F.*² 749.

[d] Kock i. 560.

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[2] μόνος Casaubon: μόνον A.

[3] ὁρμοῦντ' Kaibel, κυκῶντ' Lumb: οὐκουντ' A.

Φοῖβε, μαχαίρας
καὶ προδιδάσκων τοὺς σοὺς προπόλους.

κἀν τοῖς ἑξῆς δ᾽ ὁ Ἀχαιός φησιν·

τίς ὑποκεκρυμμένος μένει,
σαραβάκων κοπίδων[1] συνομώνυμε;

e ἐπισκώπτουσι γὰρ οἱ Σάτυροι τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὡς
περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς θοίνας διατρίβοντας.
Σῆμος δ᾽ ἐν δʹ Δηλιάδος "Δελφοῖς, φησί, παραγινομένοις
εἰς Δῆλον παρεῖχον Δήλιοι ἅλας καὶ
ὄξος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ξύλα καὶ στρώματα." Ἀριστοτέλης
δ᾽ ἢ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι περὶ
Μαγνήτων λέγων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ
ὅτι Δελφῶν εἰσιν ἄποικοι τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπιτελοῦντας
αὐτοὺς ποιεῖ χρείας τοῖς παραγιγνομένοις τῶν
f ξένων, λέγων οὕτως· "Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ
ποταμῷ κατοικοῦντες ἱεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Δελφῶν
ἄποικοι, παρέχουσι τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι στέγην, ἅλας,
ἔλαιον, ὄξος, ἔτι λύχνον, κλίνας, στρώματα, τραπέζας."
Δημήτριος δ᾽ ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ
Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ φησιν ἐπὶ τῆς
ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ὑακινθίδος ἱδρῦσθαι ἥρωας
Μάττωνα καὶ Κεράωνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις[2]
ποιούντων τε τὰς μάζας καὶ κεραννύντων τὸν οἶνον
174 διακόνων. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ κἀν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ
εἰκοστῷ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας Δαίτην ἥρωα
τιμώμενον παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσίν, οὗ μνημονεύειν

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[1] Corrupt. τί δ᾽ ὑποκεκρυμμένος μένεις, σαραβικῶν κοπίδων Meineke, "why do you remain hiding low, you who, etc."

[2] φιδιτίοις edd.: φειδιτίοις regularly AC. See 141 a, critical note.

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[a] Viz., the quotation given just before that from Aristophanes, *T.G.F.*^{2} 749. See critical note. Reading σαραβικῶν,

numerous knives of the Delphians, and dost teach thy ministers betimes." And in the lines which follow[a] Achaeus says: "Who is he that remains hiding low, you who bear the same name with Sarre cleavers?" The chorus of satyrs, in fact, deride the Delphians for their assiduous devotion to sacrifices and festivities. And Semos, in the fourth book of the *History of Delos*,[b] says that "to the Delphians who came to Delos the Delians furnished salt, vinegar, oil, fuel, and bedding." And Aristotle (or Theophrastus), speaking in his *Commentaries* of the Magnesians who dwell on the Maeander river, says that they are colonists from Delphi, and represents them as offering the same services to any foreigners who come among them. He says[c]: "The Magnesians who dwell beside the Maeander river are consecrated to the god, being colonists of Delphi, and they offer to travellers shelter, salt, oil, and vinegar; also a lamp, beds, bedding, and tables." Demetrius of Skepsis, in the sixteenth book of his *Trojan Battle-order*,[d] says that in Laconia, beside the road called "Hyacinth," there is a shrine of the heroes Matton ("Kneader") and Ceraon ("Mixer") which has been set up by the slaves who make the barley-cakes and mix the wine at the public mess. The same authority, in the twenty-fourth book of the same work,[e] records a hero Daites ("Feaster") honoured among the Trojans, who is mentioned by

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"of the river Sarre," we are left ignorant of what the cleavers from there were like, unless indeed *σαραβικῶν* refers rather to *σάραβος*, the *pudenda muliebria*, in which case the vocative is highly opprobrious. If it is a Delphian who is addressed, there is a pun also on Δελφός and δελφύς, "womb."

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 493.

[c] Aristotle, *Frag.* p. 392 Rose.

[d] Frag. 10 Gaede. *Cf.* Athen. 39 c.

[e] Frag. 14 Gaede.

Μίμνερμον. κἀν Κύπρῳ δέ φησι τιμᾶσθαι Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς Δία Εἰλαπιναστήν τε καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμον.

Πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἔτι λεγομένων ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων τις ἐξηκούσθη ὑδραύλεως ἦχος πάνυ τι ἡδὺς καὶ τερπνός, ὡς πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιστραφῆναι b θελχθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμμελείας. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀλκείδην “ ἀκούεις, ἔφη, μουσικώτατε ἀνδρῶν, τῆς καλῆς ταύτης συμφωνίας,[1] ἥτις ἡμᾶς ἐπέστρεψεν πάντας κατακηληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς μουσικῆς; καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὁ παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολὺς ὁ μόναυλος ἀλγηδόνα μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀκούουσι παρέχων ἤ τινα τέρψιν μουσικήν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀλκείδης ἔφη· “ ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὄργανον τοῦτο ἡ ὕδραυλις, εἴτε τῶν ἐντατῶν αὐτὸ θέλεις εἴτε τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν, Ἀλεξανδρέως ἐστὶν ἡμεδαποῦ εὕρημα, κουρέως τὴν τέχνην· Κτησίβιος δ' αὐτῷ τοὔνομα. ἱστορεῖ δὲ τοῦτο c Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ χορῶν οὑτωσί πως λέγων· ‘ ζητεῖται δὲ πότερα τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν ἐστιν ὀργάνων ἡ ὕδραυλις ἢ τῶν ἐντατῶν. Ἀριστόξενος μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οὐκ οἶδε· λέγεται δὲ Πλάτωνα μικράν τινα ἔννοιαν δοῦναι τοῦ κατασκευάσματος νυκτερινὸν ποιήσαντα ὡρολόγιον ἐοικὸς τῷ ὑδραυλικῷ οἷον κλεψύδραν μεγάλην λίαν. καὶ τὸ ὑδραυλικὸν δὲ d ὄργανον δοκεῖ κλεψύδρα εἶναι. ἐντατὸν οὖν καὶ καθαπτὸν οὐκ ἂν νομισθείη, ἐμπνευστὸν δὲ ἂν ἴσως ῥηθείη διὰ τὸ ἐμπνεῖσθαι τὸ ὄργανον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος. κατεστραμμένοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ αὐλοὶ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀρασσομένου τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπό τινος

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[1] *συμφωνίας* Kaibel: *εὐφωνίας* A.

Mimnermus.[a] And in Cyprus, Hegesander of Delphi says,[b] Zeus is worshipped under the title "Companion at the Feast" and "Entrail-slicer."

While many remarks of this nature were still being made, there was heard from a neighbouring house the sound of a water-organ; it was very sweet and joyous, so that we all turned our attention to it, charmed by its tunefulness. And Ulpian, with a glance at the musician Alceides, said, "Do you hear, *maestro*, that beautiful harmony which has lured us all, completely beguiled by its music? It is not like the 'single-pipe' so common among you Alexandrians, which causes pain to the listeners rather than any musical delight." And Alceides said: "And yet that instrument, the water-organ, whether belonging to the class of string or wind instruments, as you choose, is the invention of one of our own Alexandrians, a barber by trade; and his name was Ctesibius. Aristocles relates this, speaking in some such fashion as this in his work *On Choruses*: 'The question is debated whether the water-organ belongs to the wind or the stringed instruments. Now Aristoxenus, to be sure, does not know of it; but it is said that Plato imparted a slight hint of its construction in having made a timepiece for use at night which resembled a water-organ, being a very large water-clock. And in fact the water-organ does look like a water-clock. Therefore it cannot be regarded as a stringed instrument or a percussion instrument, but perhaps may be described as a wind instrument, since wind is forced into it by the water. For the pipes are set low in water, and as the water is briskly agitated by a

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[a] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 18.

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 419.

νεανίσκου, ἔτι δὲ διικνουμένων ἀξινῶν[1] διὰ τοῦ
ὀργάνου ἐμπνέονται οἱ αὐλοὶ καὶ ἦχον ἀποτελοῦσι
προσηνῆ. ἔοικεν δὲ τὸ ὄργανον βωμῷ στρογγύλῳ,
καί φασι τοῦτο εὑρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Κτησιβίου κουρέως
ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντος ἐν τῇ Ἀσπενδίᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου
e Εὐεργέτου, διαπρέψαι τέ φασι μεγάλως. τουτονὶ
οὖν καὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ διδάξαι γυναῖκα Θαΐδα.' Τρύφων
δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ ὀνομασιῶν (ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ σύγγραμμα
περὶ αὐλῶν καὶ ὀργάνων) συγγράψαι φησὶ
περὶ τῆς ὑδραύλεως Κτησίβιον τὸν μηχανικόν.
ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα σφάλλεται. ὁ
μέντοι Ἀριστόξενος προκρίνει τὰ ἐντατὰ καὶ
καθαπτὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν, ῥᾴδια[2]
εἶναι φάσκων τὰ ἐμπνευστά· πολλοὺς γὰρ μὴ
διδαχθέντας αὐλεῖν τε καὶ συρίζειν, ὥσπερ τοὺς
f ποιμένας. καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔχω σοι ἐγὼ λέγειν
περὶ τοῦ ὑδραυλικοῦ ὀργάνου, Οὐλπιανέ. γιγγραΐνοισι
γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν,[3]
ἐχρῶντο αὐλοῖς σπιθαμιαίοις τὸ μέγεθος, ὀξὺ καὶ
γοερὸν φθεγγομένοις. τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες
χρῶνται ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ ἡ Καρία
Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς παρὰ Κορίννῃ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ
ἔστιν εὑρεῖν. ὀνομάζονται δὲ οἱ αὐλοὶ γίγγροι ὑπὸ
τῶν Φοινίκων ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἄδωνιν θρήνων· τὸν
175 γὰρ Ἄδωνιν Γίγγρην[4] καλεῖτε ὑμεῖς οἱ Φοίνικες,
ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δημοκλείδης. μνημονεύει τῶν γίγ-

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[1] ἀξινῶν (ἄξεων ?), I believe, is an attempt to transliterate Lat. *axium* or *assium*, Vitruvius, x. 8. 4: *cf.* αἴθριον for *atrium*, 206 a: ἀξόνων Dalechamp.

[2] ῥᾳδια A, ῥάω C: but ῥᾴδια may mean "too easy," as ὀλίγον means "too little."

[3] Τρύφων Bapp: Ξενοφάνης Bergk.

[4] Γίγγρην A: Γίγγραν Pollux iv. 76.

boy, air is released in the pipes through certain valves[a] which fit into the pipes from one side of the organ to the other, and a pleasant sound is produced. The organ is shaped like a round altar,[b] and is said to have been invented by Ctesibius, a barber who lived there in Aspendia during the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II.; and they say that he became very famous; he, indeed, even taught his wife Thais.' Tryphon, in the third book *On the Use of Terms*[c] (the treatise has to do with pipes and instruments), says that Ctesibius the engineer wrote an account of the water-organ. I am not sure whether he is mistaken in the name. Aristoxenus, it is true, prefers string and percussion instruments to wind instruments, alleging that wind instruments are too easy; for, he says, many persons, like shepherds, can play the flute and the Pan's pipe without having been taught. All this, Ulpian, I have to tell you concerning the water-organ. Yes, I may add that the Phoenicians, according to Xenophon,[d] used 'gingras' pipes, which were only nine inches long, and gave forth a tone high-pitched and plaintive. These are used also by the Carians in their songs of mourning; unless, to be sure, Caria was also called Phoenicia, examples for which may be found in Corinna and in Bacchylides.[e] Pipes were called *gingri* by the Phoenicians, and were associated with the laments for Adonis; for you Phoenicians[f] call Adonis *Gingras*, as Democleides records. The

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[a] See critical note.

[b] So Vitruvius, x. 8. 2.

[c] Frag. 111 Velsen.

[d] See critical note; the Ionic dative γιγραΐνοισι indicates a poetic source. The word, explained in the following line, is foreign.

[e] *P.L.G.*^{4} iii. 550, 586.

[f] Ulpian came from Tyre.

γρων αὐλῶν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἰατρῷ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Καρίνῃ Ἄμφις τ' ἐν Διθυράμβῳ λέγων οὕτως·

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν γίγγραν γε[1] τὸν σοφώτατον.
Β. τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ γίγγρας; Α. καινὸν ἐξεύρημά τι
ἡμέτερον, ὃ θεάτρῳ μὲν οὐδεπώποτε
ἔδειξ',[2] Ἀθήνησιν δὲ κατακεχρημένον
b ἐν συμποσίοις ἤδη 'στί.[3] Β. διὰ τί δ' οὐκ ἄγεις
εἰς τὸν ὄχλον αὐτό; Α. διότι φυλὴν περιμένω
σφόδρα φιλονικοῦσαν λαχεῖν τιν'. οἶδα γὰρ
ὅτι πάντα πράγματ' ἀνατριαινώσει[4] κρότοις.

καὶ Ἀξιόνικος ἐν Φιλευριπίδῃ·

οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσι τοῖς Εὐριπίδου
ἄμφω νοσοῦσιν, ὥστε τἄλλ' αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν
εἶναι μέλη γιγγραντὰ καὶ κακὸν μέγα.

Πόσῳ δὲ κρεῖττον, ὦ Οὐλπιανὲ σοφώτατε, τὸ
c ὑδραυλικὸν τοῦτο ὄργανον τοῦ καλουμένου νάβλα,
ὅν φησι Σώπατρος ὁ παρῳδὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ
δράματι Πύλαι Φοινίκων εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον εὕρημα.
λέγει δ' οὕτως·

οὔτε τοῦ Σιδωνίου νάβλα
λαρυγγόφωνος ἐκκεχόρδωται τύπος.

καὶ ἐν Μυστάκου δὲ θητίῳ φησί·

[1] γίγγραν γε Jacobs: γίγγραντε A.
[2] ἔδειξ' Erfurdt: ἐδείχθη A.
[3] ἤδη 'στί Dindorf: ἥδιστον A.
[4] ἀνατριαινώσει Kaibel: ἀνατριαινῶσι A.

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[a] Kock ii. 54.

gingras pipes are mentioned by Antiphanes in *The Physician*,[a] Menander in *The Carian Wailing-woman*,[b] and Amphis in *Dithyrambus*[c]; his words are as follows: 'A. But I like the *gingras*, that most clever device. B. But what is the *gingras*? A. A new invention of mine, which, to be sure, I have never yet displayed in the theatre, though it has already come into fashion at Athenian symposia. B. Why don't you introduce it to the mob? A. Because I am waiting for a very enterprising tribe to adopt it.[d] For I am sure that it will revolutionize everything with the trident of applause.' And Axionicus in *Lover of Euripides*[e]: 'For both have such a morbid passion for the lyrics of Euripides, that everything else in their eyes seems the wail of a scrannel (*gingras*) pipe and a mighty bore.'

"How much better, wisest Ulpian, this water-organ is than the so-called *nablas*,[f] which the parodist Sopater, in the play entitled *The Portal*,[g] says is likewise an invention of Phoenicians. These are his words: 'Nor has the deep-toned thrum of the Sidonian nablas passed from the strings.' And in *The Slavey of Mystacus*[h] he says: 'In the articulation

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[b] Kock iii. 75. The title refers to the profession of hired mourners, still brought from great distances in Greece to sing traditional dirges at a funeral.

[c] Kock ii. 239. The title may be an epithet of Dionysus, inspirer of the orgiastic dithyramb, and Dionysus is probably the speaker, boasting a power, exercised through the mob, equal to that of Poseidon's trident. *Cf.* Plato, *Rep.* 492 B-C.

[d] Referring to the drawing of lots to determine in which tribe a newly naturalized citizen shall be enrolled.

[e] Kock ii. 412.

[f] A stringed instrument; the argument is intended to refute the contention of Aristoxenus (174 e) that stringed instruments are superior.

[g] Kaibel 195.

[h] Kaibel 194.

νάβλας ἐν ἄρθροις γραμμάτων οὐκ εὐμελής,
ᾧ λωτὸς ἐν πλευροῖσιν ἄψυχος παγεὶς[1]
d ἔμπνουν ἀνίει μοῦσαν. ἐγρέτου δέ τις[2]
τὸν ἡδονῆς[3] μελῳδὸν εὐάζων χορόν.

Φιλήμων ἐν Μοιχῷ·

ἔδει παρεῖναι, Παρμένων, αὐλητρίδ' ἢ
νάβλαν τιν'. Π. ὁ δὲ νάβλας τί ἐστιν; . . .
Α. . . . οὐκ οἶδας, ἐμβρόντητε σύ;
Π. μὰ Δία. Α. τί φής; οὐκ οἶσθα νάβλαν; οὐδὲν οὖν
οἶσθ' ἀγαθόν. οὐδὲ σαμβυκίστριαν;

Καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον δὲ καλούμενον ὄργανον Ἰόβας ἐν τετάρτῳ θεατρικῆς ἱστορίας Σύρων εὕρημά φησιν εἶναι, ὡς καὶ τὸν καλούμενον λυροφοίνικα . . . . σαμβύκην. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄργανον Νεάνθης e ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν α' Ὥρων εὕρημα εἶναι λέγει Ἰβύκου τοῦ Ῥηγίνου ποιητοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος τὸ βάρβιτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων κατατρέχεις ὡς ἀμούσων καὶ τὸν μόναυλον συνεχῶς ὀνομάζεις ἐπιχωριάζοντα παρ' ἡμῖν, ἄκουε καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ νῦν ἔχω σοι λέγειν ἐν προχείρῳ. Ἰόβας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ συγγράμματι Αἰγυπτίους φησὶν λέγειν τὸν μόναυλον Ὀσίριδος εἶναι εὕρημα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον φώτιγγα πλαγίαυλον, οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ παραστήσομαι μνημο-

[1] παγεὶς Casaubon (the only certain correction in this corrupt fragment): παγὶς A.

[2] Schweighäuser conjectures ἔγρετ' οὐδέ τις, which I have translated.

[3] Ἀδώνιδος Kaibel.

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[a] Punning on the two senses of εὐμελής "pretty" and "melodious."

[b] Kock ii. 489.

of its lines the nablas is not pretty[a]; fixed in its ribs is lifeless lotus wood, which gives forth a breathing music. None was ever stirred to hail with cries of *evoe!* the melodious band of pleasure.' Philemon in *The Fancy Man*[b]: 'A. We ought to have with us, Parmenon, a flute-girl, or a nablas. P. And what is the nablas? A. You don't know, lunatic? P. Not I, by Zeus. A. What can you mean? You don't know a nablas?[c] Then you don't know what anything good is. Don't you even know what a sambuca-player is?'

"As for the instrument called the 'triangle'[d] Juba, in the fourth book of his *History of the Stage*,[e] says that it is a Syrian invention, as is also the so-called 'lyre-Phoenician' . . . and the 'sambuca.' But this last instrument Neanthes of Cyzicus, in Book I. of his *Annals*,[f] says was the invention of Ibycus, the well-known poet of Rhegium, as the 'barbiton'[g] was an invention of Anacreon. Since you run down us Alexandrians as being unmusical, and continually name the 'single-pipe' as widely used in our country, listen now to what I can tell you offhand about it. Juba, in the before-mentioned history, says that the Egyptians call the 'single-pipe' an invention of Osiris, just as they do the cross-flute which is called the *photinx*; for the mention of this also I

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[c] Equivalent to asking "Have you never seen a ukelele?" The sambuca was a triangular instrument with four strings, and of foreign origin. *Cf.* Athen. 633 f.

[d] Not the percussion instrument of a modern orchestra, but a three-cornered harp, with strings of unequal length. *Cf.* the arrangement of strings in a modern harp or grand piano.

[e] *F.H.G.* iii. 481.

[f] *ibid.* iii. 3.

[g] Called "the many-stringed," Theocrit. xvi. 45. It also was foreign.

f νεύοντα ἐλλόγιμον ἄνδρα. ἐπιχωριάζει γὰρ καὶ ὁ φῶτιγξ αὐλὸς παρ' ἡμῖν. τοῦ δὲ μοναύλου μνημονεύει Σοφοκλῆς μὲν ἐν Θαμύρᾳ οὕτως·

οἴχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη,
λύραι μόναυλοί θ' οἷς ἐχαίρομεν τέως.[1]
ναούς τ' ἐρημοῖ πισσοκωνίας Ἄρης.[2]

Ἀραρὼς δ' ἐν Πανὸς γοναῖς·

ἀναρπάσας μόναυλον εὐθὺς πῶς δοκεῖς
κούφως ἀνήλλετο.

176 Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Θησαυρῷ·

ἀναλαβὼν
μόναυλον ηὔλουν τὸν ὑμέναιον.

καὶ ἐν Φιαληφόρῳ·

. . . τὸν μόναυλον ποῖ τέτροφας; οὗτος Σύρε.
Β. ποῖον μόναυλον; Α. τὸν κάλαμον.

Σώπατρος Βακχίδι·

καὶ τὸ μόναυλον μέλος ἤχησε.

Πρωταγορίδης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ πανηγύρεών φησιν· "παντὸς δὲ b ὀργάνου κατὰ μίτον[3] ἧπται, κροτάλων, ὑπὸ φανοῦ,[4] πανδούρου, τῷ τε ἡδεῖ μοναύλῳ τὰς ἡδίστας ἁρμονίας ἀναμινυρίζει." Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν διηγούμενος περὶ τοῦ Ἀπαμέων πρὸς Λαρισαίους πολέμου γράφει τάδε· "παραζωνίδια καὶ λογχάρι' ἀνειληφότες ἰῷ καὶ ῥύπῳ κεκρυμ-

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[1] μόναυλοί θ' οἷς ἐχαίρομεν τέως Nauck: μοναύλοις τε χειμωντεως A.

[2] ναούς τ' . . . Ἄρης Ellis: ναος στέρημα κωμασάσης. The

will cite a distinguished authority. It is true, to be sure, that the photinx is a pipe which is peculiar to our country; but the 'single-pipe' is mentioned thus by Sophocles in *Thamyras*[a]: 'Gone are the strains of the plucked harp strings, gone the lyres and the single-pipes in which erstwhile we had delight; Ares, who tars and burns, now desolates our shrines.' And Araros in *The Birth of Pan*[b]: 'He snatched up a single-pipe straightway, you can't conceive how deftly, and began to leap with light step.' Anaxandrides in *The Treasure*[c]: 'Picking up a single-pipe I began to play the hymeneal song.' And in *The Cup-bearer*[d]: 'A. What have you done with my single-pipe, you Syrian? B. Single-pipe? What do you mean? A. The reed.' Sopater in *Bacchis*[e]: 'He sounded the strain from the single-pipe.'

"Protagorides of Cyzicus, in the second book of his work *On the Games at Daphne*,[f] says: 'He has laid fingers to every instrument, one after the other—castanets, tambourine,[g] pandura, and on the sweet single-pipe he hums again the sweetest scales.' And Poseidonius, the philosopher of the Porch, narrating the story of the war between the Apameans and Larisaeans, in the third book of his *Histories*[h] writes the following: 'They grasped daggers and small lances covered with rust and dirt; they put

[a] *T.G.F.*^{2} 182.

[b] Kock ii. 217.

[c] Kock ii. 142.

[d] Koch ii. 158.

[e] Kaibel 192.

[f] *F.H.G.* iv. 484.

[g] See critical note.

[h] *F.H.G.* iii. 253; *circa* 142 B.C.

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reading here adopted for a text which must remain incurable is simply to make possible some sort of translation.

[3] καταμιτον A. Corrupt.

[4] Corrupt: Kaibel conj. τυμπάνου.

μένα, πετάσια δ᾿ ἐπιτεθειμένοι καὶ προσκόπια
σκιὰν μὲν ποιοῦντα, καταπνεῖσθαι δ᾿ οὐ κωλύοντα
τοὺς τραχήλους, ὄνους ἐφελκόμενοι γέμοντας
c οἴνου καὶ βρωμάτων παντοδαπῶν, οἷς παρέκειτο
φωτίγγια καὶ μοναύλια, κώμων οὐ πολέμων
ὄργανα." (οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν
ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις τιτύρινόν φησι καλεῖσθαι τὸν
μόναυλον.) ἴδε ἀπέχεις, καλὲ Οὐλπιανέ, καὶ τὸν
τῆς φώτιγγος μνημονεύοντα· ὅτι δὲ ὁ μόναυλος
ἦν ὁ νῦν καλούμενος καλαμαύλης σαφῶς παρίστησιν
Ἡδύλος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν οὑτωσὶ λέγων·

τοῦτο[1] Θέων ὁ μόναυλος ὑπ᾿ ἠρίον ὁ γλυκὺς οἰκεῖ
  αὐλητής, μίμων ᾗ ᾿ν[2] θυμέλῃσι χάρις.
d τυφλὸς ὑπαὶ γήρως εἶχεν καὶ Σκίρπαλον υἱόν,
  νήπιον ὄντ᾿ ἐκάλει Σκίρπαλον[3] Εὐπαλάμου,
ἀείδων[4] αὐτοῦ τὰ γενέθλια· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶχεν
  τὴν παλαμῶν ἀρετὴν τοὔνομα[5] σημανέων.
ηὔλει δὴ Γλαύκης μεμεθυσμένα παίγνια Μουσέων
  ἢ τὸν ἐν ἀκρήτοις Βάτταλον ἡδυπότην
ἢ καὶ Κώταλον ἢ καὶ Πάκαλον. ἀλλὰ Θέωνα
  τὸν καλαμαυλήτην εἴπατε "χαῖρε Θέων."

ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς τῷ καλάμῳ αὐλοῦντας καλαμαύλας
λέγουσι νῦν, οὕτω καὶ ῥαππαύλας, ὥς φησιν
e Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις, τοὺς
τῇ ῥάππῃ[6] τῇ καλάμῃ αὐλοῦντας.

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[1] τοῦτο added by Musurus.

[2] μίμων ᾗ ᾿ν Kaibel: μιμωμενην A.

[3] Σκίρπαλον Casaubon: σκίρπαλος A: σκιρπαλου Hermol. Barbarus.

[4] ἀείδων Schweighäuser: ἀείδειν αὐτοῦ A.

[5] τὴν παλαμῶν ἀρετὴν τοὔνομα Jacobs: πανμαρπᾶν ηδυσμα A.

on hats with visors, which afforded shade, but did not prevent breathing at the throat[a]; they carried with them drinking-horns full of wine and food of every variety, and beside these lay small flutes and single-pipes, implements of revel, not of battle.' (But I am not ignorant that Amerias of Macedon in his *Dialect Dictionary* says that the single-pipe is called 'tityrine.'[b]) So now you have, good Ulpian, the authority for the word *photinx*[c]; and that the 'single-piper' was what is to-day called 'reed-piper' is plainly attested by what Hedylus says in the following lines of epigrammatic verse: 'Beneath this mound Theon dwells, he of the single-pipe, the sweet flute-player, the charmer who accompanied the mimes on the stage. When blind with age he had even a son, Scirpalus, whom when a babe he called Scirpalus, son of Ready-hand, as he sang at his nativity; for he bore this name to signify the skill of his hands. So piped he the drunken bagatelles of the Muses sung by Glauce, or the tune of the Stutterer who delights in the drinking of unmixed wine, or of Cotalus or Pacalus.[d] Nay, then, of Theon the reed-piper say, Farewell, Theon!' Precisely, then, as they call persons who play on a reed-pipe (*calamus*) *calamaulae*, so do they call those who play on the *rappa*, which is also a reed, *rappaulae*, as Amerias of Macedon tells us in his *Dialect Dictionary*.

[a] *i.e.* they were not strapped too tightly at the throat.

[b] "shepherd's-pipe"? *Cf.* 182 d. The sentence in parenthesis is out of order.

[c] "cross-flute," 175 e.

[d] Titles of popular songs. *Cf.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 1356 τὸν Κριόν, "The Ram."

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[1] τῇ ῥάππῃ added (Gulick): τῇ καλάμῃ may be a gloss (Kaibel).

Γινώσκειν δὲ βούλομαί σε, ἀνδρῶν λῷστε
Οὐλπιανέ, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων μουσικώτεροι ἄλλοι
γενέσθαι οὐχ ἱστόρηνται, καὶ οὐ λέγω περὶ κιθαρῳδίαν
μόνην, ἧς καὶ ὁ εὐτελέστατος παρ' ἡμῖν
ἰδιώτης προσέτι τε καὶ ἀναλφάβητος οὕτως ἐστὶ
συνήθης ὡς τάχιστα ἐλέγχειν τὰ παρὰ τὰς κρούσεις
ἁμαρτήματα γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐλούς εἰσι
f μουσικώτατοι οὐ μόνον τοὺς παρθενίους καλουμένους
καὶ παιδικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους,
οἵτινες καλοῦνται τέλειοί τε καὶ ὑπερτέλειοι, καὶ
τοὺς κιθαριστηρίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς δακτυλικούς.
τοὺς γὰρ ἐλύμους αὐλούς, ὧν μνημονεύει Σοφοκλῆς
ἐν Νιόβῃ τε κἀν Τυμπανισταῖς, οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς
εἶναι ἀκούομεν ἢ τοὺς Φρυγίους, ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν
ἐμπείρως ἔχουσιν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. οἴδασι δὲ καὶ
τοὺς διόπους ἔτι τε μεσοκόπους καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους
ὑποτρήτους. τῶν δ' ἐλύμων αὐλῶν μνημονεύει
177 καὶ Καλλίας ἐν Πεδήταις. Ἰόβας δὲ τούτους
Φρυγῶν μὲν εἶναι εὕρημα, ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ
σκυταλείας, κατ' ἐμφέρειαν τοῦ πάχους. χρῆσθαι
δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Κυπρίους φησὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ νεώτερος
ἐν Θηραμένει.[1] οἴδαμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόπους
καλουμένους, περὶ ὧν φησιν Ἀνακρέων·

τίς ἐρασμίην
τρέψας θυμὸν ἐς ἥβην[2] τερένων ἡμιόπων ὑπ' αὐλῶν
ὀρχεῖται;

[1] Θηραμένει Kock: θηραμένη A.
[2] ἐς ἥβην Mehlhorn: ἐσέβην A.

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[a] All these varieties are mentioned again, 634 f.
[b] *T.G.F.*² 229, 271.
[c] Kock i. 697.
[d] "Staff" here means the special rod used by the Spartans

"I would have you know, most noble Ulpian, that there is no record in history of other people more musical than the Alexandrians, and I am not speaking merely of singing to the harp, for even the humblest layman among us, even one who has never learned his ABC, is so familiar with that, that he can immediately detect the mistakes which occur in striking the notes; no, even when it comes to pipes, they are most musical; not merely the pipes called 'virginal' and 'child' but also those called 'virile,' which again are called 'complete' and 'super-complete,' also the pipes used to accompany harps, as well as the 'finger'-pipes.[a] And these are not all; for the pipes called 'elymi,' which are mentioned by Sophocles in *Niobe* and in *The Tambourine-Players*,[b] are none other, as we hear, than the 'Phrygian' pipes with which also the Alexandrians are well acquainted. They know, too, of the pipes with two holes, of those again of middle size, and of those called 'low-bore.' The 'elymi' pipes are mentioned also by Callias in *Shackled*.[c] Juba says that they are an invention of Phrygians, and that they are also called 'staff'-pipes, being like the staff[d] in thickness. Cyprians used them as well, says the younger Cratinus in *Theramenes*.[e] I know also of those called half-holed,[f] about which Anacreon[g] says: 'Who hath directed his desire toward lovely youth, and dances to the strains of tender half-holed pipes?'

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in their official dispatches. Round them was rolled spirally the writing material; the message was written lengthwise, and it could not be read after removal from the rod unless it was wound round another rod of the same thickness.

[e] Kock ii. 290.

[f] With three holes, not the customary six.

[g] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 20.

εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἱ αὐλοὶ οὗτοι ἐλάσσονες τῶν τελείων.
182 Αἰσχύλος γοῦν[1] κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἐν Ἰξίονί φησι·

c τὸν δ᾽ ἡμίοπον (καὶ τὸν ἐλάσσονα)[2]
ταχέως ὁ μέγας καταπίνει.

εἰσὶν δ᾽ οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς καλουμένοις, οἷς
οὐκ οὖσιν ἐναγωνίοις πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας χρῶνται.
διὸ καὶ τέρενας αὐτοὺς κέκληκεν ὁ Ἀνακρέων.
οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα γένη αὐλῶν τραγικῶν τε καὶ
λυσιῳδικῶν[3] καὶ κιθαριστηρίων, ὧν μνημονεύουσιν
Ἔφορός τ᾽ ἐν τοῖς εὑρήμασι καὶ Εὐφράνωρ ὁ
Πυθαγορικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐλῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἄλεξις
d ὧν[4] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐλῶν. ὁ δὲ καλάμινος
αὐλὸς τιτύρινος καλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
Δωριεῦσιν, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἱστορεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος
ἐν β΄ περὶ Δωρίδος. "ὁ δὲ μάγαδις
καλούμενος αὐλός." καὶ πάλιν· "ὁ μάγαδις[5] ὀνομαζόμενος
ἐν ταὐτῷ ὀξὺν καὶ βαρὺν φθόγγον ἐπιδείκνυται,
ὡς Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ὁπλομάχῳ φησί·

μαγάδι[6] λαλήσω μικρὸν ἅμα σοι καὶ μέγα.[7]

οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι λώτινοι αὐλοὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὸ
e Ἀλεξανδρέων καλούμενοι φώτιγγες. κατασκευάζονται
δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου λωτοῦ· ξύλον δ᾽
ἐστὶ τοῦτο γινόμενον ἐν Λιβύῃ. Θηβαίων δ᾽

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[1] After γοῦν A has at the end of fol. 55 κατα μετασπουδάζοντας εἰσήγαγεν (Book v. 187 b), continuing to Book v. 182 b, φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων. Then follow κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἐν Ἰξίονι and the rest of the text as far as Book v. 187 b, ἀπ᾽ ἄλλης προαιρέσεως. All editors have followed Casaubon in transposing.

[2] καὶ τὸν ἐλάσσονα, deleted by Bothe, may be an explanatory phrase of Athenaeus. Hence I have put it in parenthesis: καὶ τὸν ἐλάσσω Porson.

[3] λυσιῳδικῶν Hiller: λυσιωδῶν AC.

These are shorter than the 'complete' pipes. Aeschylus, at any rate, in a figure of speech says in *Ixion*[a]: 'The half-holed' (that is, the smaller) 'is easily engulfed by the great.' They are the same as those called 'child' pipes, which are not adapted to the public games, but are used at dinner-parties; that is why Anacreon calls them 'tender.' I know of other kinds of pipes as well—the 'tragic,' the pipes used by women impersonating men,[b] and the pipes used for accompanying a harp, which are mentioned by Ephorus in *Inventions*[c] and Euphranor the Pythagorean in his book *On Pipes*, and again Alexis also . . . in his own work *On Pipes*. The reed-pipe is called 'tityrine'[d] among the Dorians of Italy, as Artemidorus, the disciple of Aristophanes, records in the second book of his *Doric Dialect*, 'The magadis is a pipe.'[e] And again: 'That named magadis can produce at the same moment a high and a low tone, as Anaxandrides says in *The Drill-Sergeant*[f]: "With my magadis I will babble to you something at once soft and loud."' But the so-called 'lotus'-pipes are what the Alexandrians call 'photinges'; they are made of lotus, as it is called, which is a wood that grows in Libya. Juba says

[a] *T.G.F.*² 30.

[b] *Cf.* 620 e, and 211 b, 252 e; called λυσιῳδικοί, because the songs were written by one Lysis.

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 276.

[d] *Cf.* 176 c.

[e] Quotations from Tryphon, as may be seen from 634 e.

[f] Kock ii. 149.

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[4] ἄλεξις ὢν A, which is unintelligible as it stands: Ἀλέξων Schweighäuser: Ἀριστόξενος? *Cf.* 634 d.

[5] ὁ δὲ . . . μάγαδις Athen. 634 e (quoted from Tryphon): ὁ δὲ . . . καὶ παλαιομάγαδις A.

[6] μαγάδι Kaibel (μάγαδι Meineke): μάγαδιν A.

[7] μέγα Schweighäuser: μέγαν A

εὕρημά φησιν εἶναι Ἰόβας τὸν ἐκ νεβροῦ κώλων κατασκευαζόμενον αὐλόν. ὁ δὲ Τρύφων φησὶ καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἐλεφαντίνους αὐλοὺς παρὰ Φοίνιξιν ἀνατρηθῆναι.

Οἶδα δὲ ὅτι καὶ μάγαδις ὄργανόν ἐστιν ἐντατὸν
καθάπερ καὶ κιθάρα, λύρα, βάρβιτον. Εὐφορίων
δὲ ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων "οἱ νῦν,
φησίν, καλούμενοι ναβλισταὶ καὶ πανδουρισταὶ
καὶ σαμβυκισταὶ καινῷ μὲν οὐδενὶ χρῶνται
f ὀργάνῳ· τὸν γὰρ βάρωμον[1] καὶ βάρβιτον, ὧν
Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέων μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τὴν
μάγαδιν καὶ τὰ τρίγωνα καὶ τὰς σαμβύκας
ἀρχαῖα εἶναι. ἐν γοῦν Μιτυλήνῃ μίαν τῶν Μουσῶν
πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Λεσβοθέμιδος ἔχουσαν σαμβύκην."
Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἔκφυλα ὄργανα καλεῖ φοίνικας
καὶ πηκτίδας καὶ μαγάδιδας σαμβύκας τε καὶ
τρίγωνα καὶ κλεψιάμβους καὶ σκινδαψοὺς καὶ τὸ
ἐννεάχορδον καλούμενον. Πλάτων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ
Πολιτείας φησίν· "οὐκ ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πολυχορδίας
γε οὐδὲ παναρμονίου ἡμῖν δεήσει ἐν ταῖς
ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ μέλεσιν. οὔ μοι, ἔφη, φαίνεται.
183 τριγώνων ἄρα καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ πάντων ὀργάνων
ὅσα πολύχορδα καὶ παναρμόνια. . ." ἐστὶν δ'
ὁ σκινδαψὸς τετράχορδον ὄργανον, ὡς ὁ παρῳδός
φησι Μάτρων ἐν τούτοις·

οὐδ' ἀπὸ[2] πασσαλόφιν κρέμασαν, ὅθι[3] περ τετάνυστο
σκινδαψὸς τετράχορδος ἀνηλακάτοιο γυναικός.

[1] More correctly βάρμον 636 c.
[2] ἀπὸ Meineke: ὑπὸ A.
[3] ὅθι Musurus: ὅτι A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 482.
[b] Frag. 112 Velsen.

that the pipe made from fawn's legs is an invention of Thebans.[a] Tryphon says[b] that the pipes called 'ivory' were bored by Phoenicians.

"But I know that the 'magadis' is also a stringed instrument like the 'kithara,' 'lyra,' or 'barbiton.'[c] The epic poet Euphorion, in his treatise on the *Isthmian Games*,[d] says that 'the persons now called nablas-players,[e] panduristae, and sambuca-players use no newly invented instrument; for the 'baromos' and the 'barbiton,' which Sappho and Anacreon mention, the 'magadis,' the 'triangles,'[f] and the 'sambucas' are old. In Mitylene, at any rate, one of the Muses is portrayed by Lesbothemis holding a sambuca.' Aristoxenus calls foreign all stringed instruments bearing the name of 'phoenix,' 'pectis,' 'magadis,' 'sambuca,' 'triangle,' 'clepsiamb,' 'scindapsus' and the 'nine-stringed,' as it is called. Plato, in the third book of *The Republic*[g] says: '"We shall not, then," said I, "require an instrument of many strings or one on which all the musical modes can be played in our songs and lyrics." "Plainly not," said he. "As for triangles, then, and pectides, and all instruments which have many strings and can be played in many modes. . . ."' The 'scindapsus' is an instrument with four strings, as the parodist Matron says in these lines[h]: 'And they hung it not to the peg on which lay outspread the tetrachord scindapsus of the woman who knew not

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[c] Varieties of the harp or lyre.

[d] Frag. 32 Müller.

[e] 175 b-c; the terms which follow refer to instruments of the harp family, *P.L.G.*⁴ iii. 136, 291.

[f] See 175 d, note d.

[g] 399 c. Supply at the end of the quotation δημιουργοὺς οὐ θρέψομεν, "to the artisans who make such instruments we will give no support."

[h] Frag. 5 Brandt.

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐποποιὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἁρματίῳ·

σκινδαψὸν λυρόεντα μέγαν χείρεσσι τινάσσων,
b οἰσύινον[1] προμάλοιο τετυγμένον αἰζήεντος·

καὶ Ἀναξίλας ἐν Λυροποιῷ·

ἐγὼ δὲ βαρβίτους, τριχόρδους, πηκτίδας,
κιθάρας, λύρας, σκινδαψοὺς[2] ἐξηρτυόμαν.

Σώπατρος δ᾽ ὁ παρῳδὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Μυστάκου θητίῳ[3] δίχορδον εἶναί φησι τὴν πηκτίδα λέγων οὕτως·

πηκτὶς δὲ Μούσῃ γαυριῶσα βαρβάρῳ
c δίχορδος εἰς σὴν χεῖρά πως κατεστάθη.

τῶν δὲ παριαμβίδων Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Περιάλλῳ μνημονεύει οὕτως·

Σεμέλα δὲ χορεύει·
καὶ ὑπαυλεῖ σφιν[4] σοφὸς κιθάρᾳ παριαμβίδας·
ἃ δὲ γεγάθει
πυκινῶν κρεγμῶν ἀκροαζομένα.

Τὸ δὲ ψαλτήριον, ὥς φησιν Ἰόβας, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Κυθήριος συνεπλήρωσε χορδαῖς καὶ ἐγγηράσας τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλει ὡς σοφώτατον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης τουτὶ τὸ εὕρημα ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος. μνημονεύει δ᾽ ὁ Ἰόβας καὶ τοῦ λυροφοίνικος καὶ d τοῦ ἐπιγονείου, ὃ νῦν εἰς ψαλτήριον ὄρθιον μετα-

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[1] *οἰσύινον* Kaibel: *ὀξύινον* (" of beech ") A.
[2] Cobet proposed Doric forms throughout: *βαρβῖτος*, *τριχόρδος*, *πακτίδας* . . . *σκινδαψός*. (the last required by the metre).

the distaff.' Theopompus, the epic poet of Colophon, also mentions it in the poem called *Little Chariot*:[a] 'Holding in his arms a mighty lyre-like scindapsus, made of withes from the lusty willow.' And Anaxilas in *The Harp-maker*[b]: 'I used to make barbiti, trichords, pectides, citharas, lyres, scindapsi.' Sopater, in the play entitled *The Slavey of Mystacus*,[c] says that the 'pectis' has two strings; his words are: 'And the two-stringed pectis, which boasts a barbaric muse, has somehow been placed in thy hand.' Epicharmus mentions airs for the harp (*pariambides*) in *Periallus*[d] thus: 'Semele dances; and one skilled in the cithara pipes[e] for them harp airs in accompaniment; and she makes merry as she listens to the loud crackle of the tones.'

"Alexander of Cythera, as Juba says,[f] perfected the 'psaltery' with a larger number of strings, and since in his old age he lived in the city of Ephesus, he dedicated this invention, as the most ingenious product of his skill, in the temple of Artemis. Juba also mentions the 'lyre-Phoenician' and the 'epigoneum,'[g] which to-day, although it has been re-fashioned

[a] Powell 28.
[b] Kock ii. 267.
[c] Kaibel 194. [d] Kaibel 111.
[e] The reading is uncertain, but there is no inconsistency; *cf.* Photius, παριαμβίδες· κιθαρῳδικοὶ νόμοι οἷς προσηύλουν, "*pariambides* are nomes for harp singers to which they played pipe accompaniments."
[f] *F.H.G.* iii. 484.
[g] *Ibid.* 482. The epigoneum was a large harp named after a certain Epigonus, as the saxophone was named after one Saxe.

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[3] Μυστάκου θητίῳ Wilamowitz: μύστα A.
[4] ὑπαυλεῖ σφιν Schweighäuser: ὑπαλισφιν A.

σχηματισθὲν διασῴζει τὴν τοῦ χρησαμένου προσηγορίαν. ἦν δ' ὁ Ἐπίγονος φύσει μὲν Ἀμβρακιώτης, δημοποίητος δὲ Σικυώνιος· μουσικώτατος δ' ὢν κατὰ χεῖρα δίχα πλήκτρου ἔψαλλεν. πάντων οὖν τούτων τῶν προειρημένων ὀργάνων καὶ αὐλῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχουσι καὶ τεχνικῶς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἄν μου θέλῃς ἀποπειραθῆναι ἐπιδείξομαί σοι ἐγὼ αὐτός, πολλῶν ἄλλων μουσικωτέρων μου ἐν
e τῇ πατρίδι ὑπαρχόντων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ πολίτης μου (οὗτος δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τετελεύτηκε) δημοσίᾳ ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τριγώνῳ ἐπικαλουμένῳ ὀργάνῳ οὕτως ἐποίησε πάντας Ῥωμαίους μουσομανεῖν ὡς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτοῦ τὰ κρούσματα. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ τριγώνου τούτου καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν μὲν Μυσοῖς οὕτως·

πολὺς δὲ Φρὺξ τρίγωνος ἀντίσπαστά τε
Λυδῆς ἐφυμνεῖ πηκτίδος συγχορδία,

καὶ ἐν Θαμύρᾳ. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Δαιταλεῦσι
f καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν Πηνελόπῃ· Εὔπολις δ' ἐν Βάπταις φησίν·

ὃς καλῶς μὲν τυμπανίζει
καὶ διαψάλλει τριγώνοις.

τοῦ δὲ καλουμένου πανδούρου Εὐφορίων μέν, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ Πρωταγορίδης ἐν β' περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ πανηγύρεων. Πυθαγόρας δὲ ὁ γεγραφὼς περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας
184 φησὶ κατασκευάζειν τὴν πανδοῦραν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ φυομένης δάφνης. Τυρρηνῶν δ' ἐστὶν εὕρημα κέρατά τε καὶ σάλπιγγες. Μητρόδωρος δ'

into an upright psaltery, still preserves the name of the man who brought it into use. Epigonus was by birth an Ambraciot, but by adoption he was a citizen of Sicyon. Being very talented, he could play on the harp with the bare hand without a plectrum. I say then, that the Alexandrians are well acquainted with all these instruments before mentioned, as well as with the pipes, and they are skilled in their use; I will myself give you an exhibition with any of the instruments with which you wish to test me, although there are many other persons in my country more musical than I. My fellow-citizen Alexander (he has lately died) gave a public recital with the instrument called the triangle, and sent all Rome into such a state of music-madness that most Romans can repeat his tunes. This 'triangle' is mentioned by Sophocles in *The Mysians* [a] thus: 'Oft resounds the Phrygian triangle, and with answering strains the harmony of the Lydian pectis sings'; also in *Thamyras*. So Aristophanes in *The Men of Dinnerville*,[b] Theopompus in *Penelope*.[c] Eupolis in *The Dyers* [d] says: 'Who nicely beats the tambourine and sounds the strings of the triangle.' The so-called 'pandura' is mentioned by Euphorion, as has already been said,[e] and by Protagorides in the second book of *The Games at Daphne*.[f] Pythagoras, he who wrote on the Red Sea, says that the Troglodytes make the pandura out of the white mangrove which grows in the sea. Horns and trumpets are an invention of the Etruscans. Metrodorus of Chios,

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[a] *T.G.F.*² 221, 182; *cf.* Athen. 635 c.

[b] Kock i. 454.

[c] Kock i. 746.

[d] Kock i. 276, where it will be seen that the quotation is much distorted.

[e] 182 e.

[f] *F.H.G.* iv. 484.

ὁ Χῖος ἐν Τρωικοῖς σύριγγα μέν φησιν εὑρεῖν
Μαρσύαν καὶ αὐλεῖν[1] ἐν Κελαιναῖς, τῶν πρότερον
ἑνὶ καλάμῳ συριζόντων. Εὐφορίων δ' ὁ ἐποποιὸς
ἐν τῷ περὶ μελοποιῶν τὴν μὲν μονοκάλαμον
σύριγγα Ἑρμῆν εὑρεῖν, τινὰς δ' ἱστορεῖν Σεύθην
καὶ Ῥωνάκην τοὺς Μαιδούς,[2] τὴν δὲ πολυκάλαμον
Σιληνόν, Μαρσύαν δὲ τὴν κηρόδετον.

Ταῦτα ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων,
b Οὐλπιανὲ ὀνοματοθήρα, τῶν περὶ τοὺς μοναύλους
ἐσπουδακότων. οὐ γὰρ οἶδας ἱστοροῦντα Μενεκλέα
τὸν Βαρκαῖον συγγραφέα ἔτι τε Ἄνδρωνα ἐν τοῖς
Χρονικοῖς τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρεῖς εἰσιν
οἱ παιδεύσαντες πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς
βαρβάρους, ἐκλειπούσης ἤδη τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας
διὰ τὰς γενομένας συνεχεῖς κινήσεις ἐν τοῖς
κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχους χρόνοις. ἐγένετο
οὖν ἀνανέωσις πάλιν παιδείας ἁπάσης κατὰ τὸν
c ἕβδομον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου Πτολεμαῖον, τὸν
κυρίως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καλούμενον Κακεργέτην.
οὗτος γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων
ἀποσφάξας, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ φυγαδεύσας τῶν
κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφηβησάντων ἐποίησε
πλήρεις τάς τε νήσους καὶ πόλεις ἀνδρῶν γραμματικῶν,
φιλοσόφων, γεωμετρῶν, μουσικῶν, ζωγράφων,
παιδοτριβῶν τε καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ ἄλλων
πολλῶν τεχνιτῶν· οἳ διὰ τὸ πένεσθαι διδάσκοντες
ἃ ἠπίσταντο πολλοὺς κατεσκεύασαν ἄνδρας ἐλ-

[1] αὐλεῖν Lumb: αὐλὸν A.

[2] Μαιδοὺς Schweighäuser: μήδους A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 205.

[b] See critical note, and Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 8.

in his *Trojan History* [a] says that Marsyas invented the Pan's pipe (' syrinx ') and played it in Celaenae,[b] since his predecessors had piped on one reed only. And Euphorion the epic poet, in his work on *Lyric Poets*,[c] says that Hermes invented the one-reeded syrinx (though some record that Seuthes and Rhonaces the Maedi were the inventors), Silenus the many-reeded syrinx, and Marsyas the one which is fastened by wax.

"This you have, O word-chaser Ulpian, from the lips of us Alexandrians who have devoted ourselves to the study of 'single-pipes.' You, indeed, are not aware that Menecles, the historian of Barca,[d] and again Andron of Alexandria, in his *Chronicles*,[e] record that the Alexandrians were the teachers of all Greeks and barbarians at a time when the entire system of general education had broken down by reason of the continually recurring disturbances which took place in the period of Alexander's successors. I say, then, a rejuvenation of all culture was again brought about in the reign of the seventh Ptolemy who ruled over Egypt, the king who received from the Alexandrians appropriately the name of Malefactor.[f] For he murdered many of the Alexandrians; not a few he sent into exile, and filled the islands and towns with men who had grown up with his brother—philologians, philosophers, mathematicians, musicians, painters, athletic trainers, physicians, and many other men of skill in their profession. And so they, reduced by poverty to teaching what they knew, instructed many dis-

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[c] Frag. 33 Müller.

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 451.

[e] *Ibid.* ii. 352.

[f] Kakergetes, opposed to Euergetes, "Benefactor."

d λογίμους. ἔμελεν δὲ τοῖς πάλαι πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι μουσικῆς· διόπερ καὶ ἡ αὐλητικὴ περισπούδαστος ἦν. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Προτρεπτικῷ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶ καὶ Θηβαίους πάντας αὐλεῖν μανθάνειν Ἡρακλεώτας τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἔτι Ἀθηναίων τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, Καλλίαν τε τὸν Ἱππονίκου καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν Καλλαίσχρου. Δοῦρις δ᾽ ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους Ἀλκιβιάδην φησὶ μαθεῖν τὴν αὐλητικὴν οὐ παρὰ τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλὰ Προνόμου τοῦ μεγίστην ἐσχηκότος δόξαν. Ἀριστόξενος e δὲ καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τὸν Θηβαῖον αὐλεῖν μαθεῖν παρὰ Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ καὶ Ὀρθαγόρᾳ. καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἤσκησαν, ὡς Εὐφράνωρ τε καὶ Ἀρχύτας Φιλόλαός τε ἄλλοι τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι. ὁ δ᾽ Εὐφράνωρ καὶ σύγγραμμα περὶ αὐλῶν κατέλιπεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρχύτας. ἐμφανίζει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Δαιταλεῦσι τὴν περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο σπουδὴν ὅταν λέγῃ·

> ὅστις[1] αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραισι κατατέτριμμαι χρώμενος,
> εἶτά με σκάπτειν κελεύεις;

f Φρύνιχος Ἐφιάλτῃ·

> οὐ τουτονὶ μέντοι σὺ κιθαρίζειν ποτὲ
> αὐλεῖν τ᾽ ἐδίδαξας;

καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δέ φησιν Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις ἐπαυλῆσαι τοῖς Διοσκόροις τὸν ἐνόπλιον. Ἴων δ᾽ ἐν Φοίνικι ἢ Καινεῖ ἀλέκτορα τὸν αὐλὸν καλεῖ ἐν τούτοις·

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[1] After ὅστις A has δ᾽ αὐτὴν: deleted by Brunck and Casaubon.

tinguished men. But all Greeks of the olden time were devoted to music; wherefore even flute-playing was very popular. Chamaeleon of Heraclea, at any rate, in the *Hortatory Tract*, as it is entitled, says that all Lacedaemonians and Thebans learned to play on the pipes, as did also the Heracleots of Pontus in his time, as well as the most distinguished Athenians—Callias the son of Hipponicus and Critias the son of Callaeschrus. Duris, in his work on Euripides and Sophocles, says[a] that Alcibiades learned flute-playing from no ordinary teacher, but from Pronomus, who had acquired very great repute. Aristoxenus, also, says that Epaminondas of Thebes learned to play the flute in the schools of Olympiodorus and Orthagoras. Many even of the Pythagoreans were devoted to flute-playing, as Euphranor, Archytas, Philolaus, and not a few others. In fact Euphranor has left a treatise on pipes; likewise also Archytas. And Aristophanes, in *The Men of Dinnerville*,[b] makes clear the interest in this subject when he says: 'I am one who have been worn flabby by the use of pipes and harps; and now you bid me go dig?' Phrynichus in *The Incubus*[c]: 'Surely you never taught *this* fellow to play the harp and pipes?' And Epicharmus says in *The Muses*[d] that even Athena played the 'enoplic'[e] on the pipes for the Dioscuri. Ion, in *Phoenix* or *Caeneus*,[f] calls the pipe a cock, in these words: 'And upon that the

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[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 486.

[b] Kock i. 448; a young man complains that after an effeminate education he should be called upon to work. *Cf.* Aristoph. *Aves* 1432 *τί γὰρ πάθω; σκάπτειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.*

[c] Kock i. 370.

[d] Kaibel 104.

[e] A martial and marching tune in a special rhythm.

[f] *T.G.F.*^{2} 740.

185 ἐπὶ δ’ αὐλὸς ἀλέκτωρ Λύδιον ὕμνον ἀχέων.

ἐν δὲ Φρουροῖς τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα Ἰδαῖον εἴρηκε σύριγγα διὰ τούτων·

ῥοθεῖ[1] δέ τοι σῦριγξ Ἰδαῖος ἀλέκτωρ.

ἐν δὲ τῷ β′ Φοίνικι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἴων φησίν·

ἔκτυπον[2] ἄγων βαρὺν αὐλὸν τρέχοντι ῥυθμῷ,[3]

οὕτω λέγων τῷ Φρυγίῳ· βαρὺς γὰρ οὗτος· παρ’ ὃ καὶ τὸ κέρας αὐτῷ προσάπτουσιν ἀναλογοῦν τῷ τῶν σαλπίγγων κώδωνι.”

Ἐπὶ τούτοις τέλος ἐχέτω καὶ ἥδε ἡ βίβλος, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, ἱκανὸν εἰληφυῖα μῆκος.

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[1] ῥοθεῖ Nauck: προθεῖ A.

[2] ἔκτυπον A: ἐκτύπουν Bentley.

[3] τρέχοντι ῥυθμῷ AC: τρέχοντα ῥυθμόν Bentley.

pipe, a cock, crowed forth its Lydian hymn.' But in *Sentinels* [a] he calls the cock an Idaean Pan's pipe, in these words: 'And the Pan's pipe, Idaean cock, surges forth.' In the second *Phoenix* [b] the same Ion says: 'Playing a loud and deep-voiced pipe, with tripping metre,' meaning the Phrygian thereby; for it is deep and grave, and hence they tie the piece of horn to it, answering to the mouthpiece [c] of trumpets."

Upon this, let the present book come to its close, friend Timocrates, since it has taken on sufficient length.

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[a] *T.G.F.* 741; the writer of the note should have said, "he calls the Pan's pipe an Idaean cock."

[b] *ibid.* 740. See critical note.

[c] lit. "bell." The text is defective, and the meaning of the quotation wholly obscure.

E

'Αλλ' ἐπεὶ πολὺς οὕτως λόγος συμποσίων πέρι διήντληται,[1] ὦ Τιμόκρατες, ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων, παρελίπομεν δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ χρησιμώτατα καὶ οὐ βαροῦντα τὴν ψυχήν, ὠφελοῦντα δὲ καὶ τρέφοντα κατὰ πανδαισίαν, ἅπερ ὁ θεῖος Ὅμηρος παρεισήγαγε, μνημονεύσω καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Μασουρίου. ἡμεῖς γὰρ κατὰ τὸν καλὸν 'Αγάθωνα·

τὸ μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὣς ποιούμεθα,
b τὸ δ' ἔργον ὡς πάρεργον ἐκπονούμεθα.

φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ τοῦ Μενελάου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

τὸν δ' εὗρον δαινύντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτῃσιν
υἱέος ἠδὲ θυγατρὸς ἀμύμονος ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,

ὡς νενόμισται ἄγειν συμπόσια περὶ τοὺς γάμους τῶν τε γαμηλίων θεῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς οἱονεὶ μαρτυρίας. τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους συμπόσιον ὁ τῆς Λυκίας βασιλεὺς διδάσκει οἷον εἶναι δεῖ, τὸν
c Βελλεροφόντην μεγαλοπρεπῶς δεξάμενος·

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[1] συμποσίων πέρι διήντληται Kaibel: συμποσίων προδιήντληται A.

BOOK V

Now, since we, Timocrates, have exhausted in what has gone before so much talk on the subject of symposia, though we have omitted the most useful elements of them, I mean those things which do not burden the spirit, but aid and edify it as a complete banquet does—in fact, the elements which the divine Homer introduced by the way, I will now bring to mind also what was said on these matters by the most excellent Masurius. For, to adopt the words of the noble Agathon,[a] "Thus do we render our avocation a vocation, but contrive to make our vocation an avocation." Be that as it may, the poet, speaking of Menelaus, says[b]: "Him they found giving a marriage-feast to many kinsmen in his hall for his son and his blameless daughter;" since it is the established custom to hold symposia in connexion with the wedding ceremony, partly to honour the gods of marriage, and partly to serve as a kind of public witness to the union. As for the symposium which is tendered to strangers, the king of Lycia teaches what the nature of it should be when he gives munificent welcome to Bellerophon[c]: "Nine

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[a] *T.G.F.*^{2} 766; the meaning is that we treat what is secondary as of chief importance, and *vice versa*.

[b] *Od.* iv. 3. The occasion was the visit of Telemachus and Peisistratus.

[c] *Il.* vi. 174.

ἐννῆμαρ ξείνισσε καὶ ἐννέα βοῦς ἱέρευσε.

Δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς φιλίαν τι ὁ οἶνος ἑλκυστικόν,
παραθερμαίνων τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ διαχέων.
διόπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἠρώτων οἵτινες εἶεν ἀλλ'
ὕστερον, ὡς τὴν ξενίαν αὐτὴν τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' οὐ
τοὺς ἐν μέρει καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν. τῶν δὲ
νῦν δείπνων προνοοῦντες οἱ νομοθέται τά τε
φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν, ἔτι
186 δὲ τοὺς θιάσους καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ καὶ πάλιν τὰ[1]
ὀργεωνικὰ λεγόμενα. πολλῶν γοῦν εἰσι φιλοσόφων
ἐν ἄστει σύνοδοι τῶν μὲν Διογενιστῶν, τῶν δὲ
Ἀντιπατριστῶν λεγομένων, τῶν δὲ Παναιτιαστῶν.
κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην
σύνοδον χρήματα, μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵνα ἀκολασταίνωσι
συνιόντες, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου
λόγον[2] σωφρόνως καὶ πεπαιδευμένως διεξάγωσι.
συνεδείπνουν δ' ὁσημέραι οἱ περὶ πρύτανιν[3] σώφρονα
καὶ σωτήρια τῶν πόλεων σύνδειπνα. πρὸς
γοῦν τοιοῦτο συμπόσιόν φησιν ὁ Δημοσθένης
ἀνενηνέχθαι τὴν Ἐλατείας κατάληψιν· "ἑσπέρα
b μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἧκε δὲ ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις
ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται." καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις
δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἦν συνάγουσι τοὺς νέους μετ' αὐτῶν
πρός τινα τεταγμένον νόμον εὐωχεῖσθαι. τοῦ γοῦν

[1] τὰ added by Kaibel.

[2] τὰ κατὰ . . . λόγον A (νόμον Wilamowitz): τοὺς κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον λόγους C.

[3] περὶ πρύτανιν can scarcely be right; we expect οἱ περὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις, or οἱ ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ.

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[a] *i.e.* "priestly." A citizen, called during his office *orgeon*, was chosen from each deme to offer sacrifice at certain stated times. The *thiasos* was a company, club, or fraternity, originally organized to carry on some religious

days he received him as his guest, and nine oxen did he butcher."

For wine seems to possess a power which draws to friendship, by lightly warming and fusing the soul. Hence they did not even ask their guests too soon who they were, but postponed that until later, as though they honoured the mere act of hospitality, and not the individual and the personal in us. The old lawgivers, providing for the modern dinners, ordained both the tribe and the deme dinners, and over and above these the dinners of the sacred bands, the brotherhood dinners, and again those which are called "orgeonic."[a] Anyway, there are in the city[b] meetings of many philosophic sects—Diogenists, Antipatrists, so-called, and Panaetiasts. Theophrastus even bequeathed money for a meeting of this character, not—Heaven forbid!—that they should indulge in intemperance when they came together, but that they might carry out with decency and refinement the practices which accord with the idea of the symposium. And every day the presiding magistrates used to assemble parties for dinner which were decent and salutary for the state. At any rate, it was to a symposium of this kind, Demosthenes says,[c] that report came of the capture of Elateia: "For it was evening, and someone came to the prytanes with the report that Elateia had been captured." And the philosophers also made it their business to gather young men together and dine in their company with due regard to some fixed standard.

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cult. State dinners (σίτησις) were given in the Prytaneum in honour of foreign envoys, victorious generals or athletes, statesmen, and other men of prominence. *Cf.* Athen. 32 b, 149 d, 187 d, 425 a.

[b] Athens.

[c] *De corona* 169.

Ξενοκράτους ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ πάλιν Ἀριστοτέλους συμποτικοί τινες ἦσαν νόμοι. τὰ δ' ἐν Σπάρτῃ φιδίτια καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἀνδρεῖα μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἱ πόλεις συνῆγον. διὸ καί τις οὐ κακῶς ἔφη·

> οὐ χρὴ συμποσίοιο φίλους ἀπέχεσθαι ἑταίρους
> c δηρόν· ἀνάμνησις δὲ πέλει χαριεστάτη αὕτη.

Ἀντίπατρος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος συμπόσιόν ποτε συνάγων συνέταξε τοῖς ἐρχομένοις ὡς περὶ σοφισμάτων ἐροῦσιν.—Ἀρκεσίλαον δέ φησιν εἰς συμπόσιον παρακληθέντα καὶ συγκατακλιθέντα ἑνὶ τῶν βορῶς ἐσθιόντων, αὐτὸν δὲ μηδενὸς ἀπολαῦσαι δυνάμενον, ἐπεί τις αὐτῷ τῶν παρόντων ἐξέτεινεν, φάναι·

> εὖ σοι γένοιτο, Τηλέφῳ δ' ἁγὼ νοῶ·

ἔτυχε δ' ὁ κατοψοφαγῶν Τήλεφος καλούμενος.—ὁ δὲ Ζήνων ἐπεί τις τῶν παρόντων ὀψοφάγων d ἀπέσυρεν ἅμα τῷ παρατεθῆναι τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἰχθύος, στρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἰχθὺν ἀπέσυρεν ἐπιλέγων·

> Ἰνὼ δὲ τἀπὶ θάτερ' ἐξειργάζετο.

Σωκράτης δ' ἰδών τινα ἀμέτρως τῇ ἐποψήσει χρώμενον "ὦ παρόντες, ἔφη, τίς ὑμῶν τῷ μὲν ἄρτῳ ὡς ὄψῳ χρῆται, τῷ δ' ὄψῳ ὡς ἄρτῳ;"

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[a] Probably the correct reading in 3 f.

[b] *P.L.G.*^{4} ii. 73.

[c] Athenaeus. A remark of the excerptor.

[d] Reminiscence of Aristoph. *Ach.* 446 εὐδαιμονοίης, Τηλέφῳ δ' ἁγὼ φρονῶ, which in turn parodies a line of Euripides' *Telephus*, καλῶς ἔχει μοι· Τηλέφῳ δ' ἁγὼ φρονῶ,

At any rate, there were *Symposium Laws*[a] by Xenocrates of the Academy, and again by Aristotle. The messes at Sparta, and the men's halls among the Cretans, are conducted by the States with all possible care. Wherefore someone has said,[b] not badly: "Friendly comrades should not abstain too long from the symposium; for that is the most delightful way to remember each other." The philosopher Antipater once held a symposium at which he required all who came to discuss some disputed question of the sophists.—He[c] says that Arcesilaus was invited to a symposium, and having been assigned to a couch with a person who ate voraciously, he was unable to enjoy anything himself; and when one of the company handed food across to him, he said, "Thanks to *you*, sir; but to *Telephus*—what I have in mind!"[d] It so happened that the man who ate so greedily was named Telephus.—And Zeno, when one of the gourmands in his company snatched away the upper part of the fish at the very moment when it was set before them, with a sudden twist snatched it away again himself, while he accompanied the action with the quotation[e]: "But Ino, for her part, finished the work on the other side." And Socrates, seeing a man helping himself immoderately to the relish,[f] said, "Fellow-guests, who is it among you that treats bread like a relish, but a relish like bread?"

"all's well with *me*; but may *Telephus* get—what I have in mind," *T.G.F.*² 584; Kock i. 608.

[e] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1129. This story is told of Bion, 344 a.

[f] ἐπόψησις was a relish that could be spread on bread. For the point *cf.* "champagne flowed like water, and water flowed like champagne."

῾Ημεῖς δὲ νῦν περὶ τῶν ῾Ομηρικῶν συμποσίων
λέξομεν. ἀφορίζει γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ ποιητὴς χρόνους,
[illegible] πρόσωπα, αἰτίας. τοῦτο δὲ ὀρθῶς ἀπεμάξατο
ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Πλάτων, οἳ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς τῶν
ξυγγραμμάτων ἐκτίθενται τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ συμποσίου
καὶ τίνες οἱ παρόντες. ᾽Επίκουρος δὲ
οὐ τόπον, οὐ χρόνον ἀφορίζει, οὐ προλέγει οὐδέν.
δεῖ οὖν μαντεύσασθαι πῶς ποτ᾽ ἄνθρωπος ἐξαπίνης
ἔχων κύλικα προβάλλει ζητήματα καθάπερ ἐν
διατριβῇ λέγων. (᾽Αριστοτέλης δὲ ἄλουτον καὶ
κονιορτοῦ ἥκειν πλήρη τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιόν
φησιν. . . .)[1] ἔπειθ᾽ ὁ μὲν ῞Ομηρος ἐκδιδάσκει
f τίνας κλητέον, εἰπὼν ὡς τοὺς ἀρίστους τε καὶ
ἐντίμους χρὴ καλεῖν·

κίκλησκεν δὲ γέροντας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν.

οὐχ ὃν τρόπον ῾Ησίοδος· οὗτος γὰρ ἀξιοῖ καὶ τοὺς γείτονας·

μάλιστα καλεῖν ὅστις σέθεν ἐγγύθι ναίει.

τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς Βοιωτικῆς[2] ἐστιν ἀναισθησίας συμπόσιον καὶ τῇ μισανθρωποτάτῃ τῶν παροιμιῶν ἁρμόττον·

187 τηλοῦ φίλοι ναίοντες οὔκ εἰσιν φίλοι.

πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄλογον τόπῳ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ οὐ τρόπῳ κρίνεσθαι; τοιγαροῦν παρ᾽ ῾Ομήρῳ μετὰ τὸ πιεῖν·

τοῖς δ᾽ ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μῆτιν,

[1] ᾽Αριστοτέλης . . . φησιν is an uncompleted excerpt which recurs complete at 178 f. Supply ἀπρεπὲς εἶναι.

[2] Βοιωτικῆς Jacobs: βρωτικῆς A.

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[a] A word by which the Greek often approaches most closely the modern notion of "impolite." See critical note.

We will now talk about the Homeric symposia. In these, namely, the poet distinguishes times, persons, and occasions. This feature Xenophon and Plato rightly copied, for at the beginning of their treatises they explain the occasion of the symposium, and who are present. But Epicurus specifies no place, no time; he has no introduction whatever. One has to guess, therefore, how it comes about that a man with cup in hand suddenly propounds questions as though he were discoursing before a class. (Aristotle says that it is unseemly[a] to arrive at a symposium unbathed and covered with dust.) Then, too, Homer clearly teaches who are to be invited, showing that it is our duty to bid the best men and those who are held in esteem, when he says[b]: "And he summoned the old men, the noble lords of all the Achaeans." This is not the way which Hesiod prescribes; for he requires that we invite our neighbours too: "Above all summon him who dwells nigh thee."[c] But really this is the kind of symposium appropriate to Boeotian insensibility,[d] and chimes well with that most man-hating of the proverbs, "Friends who dwell afar are not friends."[e] For must it not be absurd that friendship should be determined by position and not by disposition?[f] Well, as I was saying, in Homer,[g] after the drinking "For them the old man, the very first of all, began to weave his counsel;" whereas

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[b] *Il.* ii. 404; of Agamemnon.

[c] *Op.* 341.

[d] The Boeotians were accused of boorish dullness and stupidity by their Athenian neighbours.

[e] *T.G.F.*² 858.

[f] *Cf.* Aeschines, *Contra Ctes.* 78 οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μετήλλαξεν.

[g] *Il.* vii. 324.

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς οὐ τὰ σώφρονα συμπόσια συνάγουσι·

τοῖς δ᾽ ὁ κόλαξ πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο
μῶκον.

ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὅμηρος ἡλικίαις εἰσάγει διαφέροντας
b καὶ ταῖς προαιρέσεσι τοὺς κεκλημένους, Νέστορα
καὶ Αἴαντα καὶ Ὀδυσσέα, τὸ μὲν καθόλου σύμπαντας
τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντεχομένους, εἴδει δὲ διαφόροις
ὁδοῖς ὡρμηκότας ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν. ὁ δ᾽ Ἐπίκουρος
ἅπαντας εἰσήγαγε προφήτας ἀτόμων καὶ ταῦτ᾽
ἔχων παραδείγματα τήν τε τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν
συμποσίων ποικιλίαν καὶ τὴν Πλάτωνός τε καὶ
Ξενοφῶντος χάριν. ὧν ὁ μὲν Πλάτων τὸν μὲν
Ἐρυξίμαχον ἰατρόν, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνη ποιητήν,
177 ἄλλον δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἄλλης προαιρέσεως σπουδάζοντας[1]
εἰσήγαγεν, Ξενοφῶν δὲ καί τινας ἰδιώτας συναν-
b έμιξε. πολλῷ τοίνυν κάλλιον Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε
καὶ διάφορα παρατιθέμενος συμπόσια· πᾶν[2] γὰρ
ἐξ ἀντιπαραβολῆς ὁρᾶται μᾶλλον. ἐστὶν γὰρ
αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν τῶν μνηστήρων οἷον ἂν γένοιτο
νεανίσκων μέθαις καὶ ἔρωσιν ἀνακειμένων, τὸ
δὲ τῶν Φαιάκων εὐσταθέστερον μὲν τούτων,
φιλήδονον δέ. τούτοις δ᾽ ἀντέθηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ
στρατιᾶς, τὰ δὲ πολιτικώτερον τελούμενα σωφρόνως.
καὶ πάλιν αὖ διεῖλεν τὰ μὲν δημοθοινίαν
ἔχοντα, τὰ δ᾽ οἰκείων σύνοδον. Ἐπίκουρος δὲ

[1] For the transposition of the text (177 a-182 c) see Book iv. 177 a, and note (p. 304).
[2] πᾶν Porson: πάλιν A.

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[a] Wrongly ascribed to the parodist Matron by Meineke; see Brandt, p. 96.

among those who do not conduct symposia discreetly, "For them the flatterer, the very first of all, began to weave his mockery."[a] And further, Homer introduces guests who differ in their ages and views of life—Nestor, Ajax, Odysseus—all of whom, speaking generally, strive after excellence, but have set out in specifically diverse paths to find it. Epicurus, on the other hand, introduced none but prophets of atoms,[b] although he had before him these as his models, I mean, the variety of symposia in the Poet, and the charm of Plato and Xenophon as well. Of the last two Plato introduced as disputants the physician Eryximachus, then the poet Aristophanes, then, one after another, men who followed different professions in life; Xenophon, for his part, also interspersed some who followed no profession. Homer, therefore, has done much better[c] in that he sets before us different symposia; for every symposium can be better understood by comparison and contrast with others. For example, in the case of the suitors we find in him the kind of symposium which would take place when lusty young men are given over to carousals and love affairs; while in the case of the Phaeacians, we have something more sedate than that of these young men, and yet full of delight. To this again, he has placed in contrast the symposia which belong to army life, over against those which were conducted more after the manner of civil life, in a sober way. Still again, by contrast, he has distinguished those which have the character of a public feast, from those which represent a gathering of intimate friends. But Epicurus has portrayed

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[b] *i.e.* all were adherents of the materialistic system of Democritus.

[c] Than Plato, Xenophon, and Epicurus.

συμπόσιον φιλοσόφων μόνον πεποίηται. ἐδίδαξεν δ᾽ Ὅμηρος καὶ οὓς οὐ δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτομάτους ἰέναι, πρεπόντως ἐξ ἑνὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεικνὺς τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων παρουσίαν·

> αὐτόματος δέ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὔτε ἀδελφὸν οὔτε γονέας οὔτε γυναῖκα κλητέον οὔτ᾽ εἴ τις ἰσοτίμως τινὰς τούτοις ἄγει· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ψυχρὸν εἴη καὶ ἄφιλον. καίτοι τινὲς στίχον προσέγραψαν τὴν αἰτίαν προστιθέντες·

> ᾔδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο,

ὥσπερ δέον εἰπεῖν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν ἀδελφὸς αὐτόματος d ἂν ἥκοι πρὸς δεῖπνον, πιθανῆς τῆς αἰτίας ἀποδιδομένης. πότερον γάρ φησιν ὡς οὐκ ᾔδει τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑστιῶντα; καὶ πῶς οὐ γελοῖον, ὁπότε περιφανὴς ἦν ἡ βουθυσία καὶ πᾶσι γνώριμος; πῶς δ᾽ ἂν ἦλθεν, εἰ μὴ ᾔδει; ἢ νὴ Δία περισπώμενον, φησίν, αὐτὸν εἰδὼς συνεγνωμόνει τῷ μὴ κεκληκέναι καὶ[1] συμπεριφερόμενος ἦλθεν αὐτόματος; ὥσπερ ὁ φήσας ἄκλητον ἥκειν, ἵνα μὴ πρωίας ὑποβλέπωσιν ἀλλήλους, ὁ μὲν αἰδούμενος, ὁ δὲ μεμφόμενος. ἀλλὰ γελοῖον ἦν ἐπιλαθέσθαι e τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα δι᾽

[1] καὶ added by Schweighäuser.

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[a] *Il.* ii. 408.

[b] His brother Agamemnon; but the presence of women, even when closely related, might not be taken for granted in classical times, except at the family feasts celebrating a birth or marriage, or held in commemoration of the dead. The comment clearly points to an Alexandrian origin, as we should expect.

[c] This famous epithet, βοὴν ἀγαθός, was much debated in antiquity. *Cf.* Schol. *Il.* ii. 408, Schol. *Il.* xvii. 714. By "cry" is meant the shout for help, the call to battle, hence "good at the cry" is = "good when the call comes."

solely a symposium of philosophers. Homer has also taught us who need not be invited, but may come of their own accord, by the example of one relative fittingly pointing out the presence of others similarly connected[a]: "Of his own accord came to him[b] Menelaus, good at the cry.[c]" For it is plain that neither a brother, nor parents, nor wife need be invited, nor anyone else whom one holds in equal esteem with these; otherwise it would be cold and unfriendly. And yet some authorities have added a verse which further explains the reason:[d] "For he knew in his heart that his brother was troubled"—as though it were necessary to tell the reason why a brother might come to dinner of his own accord, when the reason which we now give is the probable one. Can he,[e] for example, assert that Menelaus did not know that his brother was giving a feast? Would that not be ridiculous, when the slaughtering of the oxen was in plain sight, and known to all? Why then would he have come if he had not known that? Or does he mean—of all things under Heaven!—that Menelaus, knowing that his brother was distracted, excused the omission of the invitation, and, adapting himself to the circumstances, came of his own accord? That would be as if he meant that he had come, though uninvited, in order that they might not look at each other the next morning with suspicion, the one with shame, the other with reproach! On the contrary, it would have been absurd that Agamemnon should forget his brother, especially when it was for his sake that

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[d] Why Menelaus came; *Il.* ii. 409, adopted by all editors despite our critic.

[e] Whoever added the verse.

ἐκεῖνον οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ παρὸν θύοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὸν πόλεμον ἀναδεδεγμένον, καὶ κεκληκότα τοὺς
μήτε γένει προσήκοντας μήτε πατρίδι προσῳκειω-
μένους. Ἀθηνοκλῆς δ᾽ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς μᾶλλον Ἀριστ-
άρχου κατακούων τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν ἐπῶν εὐπαι-
δευτότερον ἡμῖν φησι τοῦτον Ὅμηρον καταλιπεῖν,
ὅσῳ[1] τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ Μενέλεως οἰκειοτέρως εἶχεν.[2]
Δημήτριος δ᾽ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐπαρίστερον τὴν τοῦ
στίχου παράληψιν ἐπειπὼν καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως
f ἀλλότριον,[3] τὸν

> ἤδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο

μικρολογίαν ἐμβάλλειν[4] τοῖς ἤθεσιν. "οἶμαι γάρ,
φησίν, ἕκαστον τῶν χαριέντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν
178 καὶ οἰκεῖον καὶ φίλον πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἔλθοι θυσίας
οὔσης τὸν καλοῦντα μὴ περιμείνας." Πλάτων
δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγει οὕτως·
"ἵνα καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν (φησί) διαφθείρωμεν
μεταβάλλοντες, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας
ἴασιν αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ κιν-
δυνεύει οὐ μόνον διαφθεῖραι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑβρίσαι
εἰς αὐτήν· ποιήσας γὰρ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀγαθὸν
τὰ πολεμικά, τὸν Μενέλαον δὲ μαλθακὸν αἰχμητήν,
θυσίαν ποιουμένου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἄκλητον
b ἐποίησεν ἐλθόντα τὸν χείρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀμεί-
νονος δίαιταν." Βακχυλίδης δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλέους[5] λέγων ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ[6] τὸν τοῦ Κήυκος
οἶκόν φησιν·

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[1] ὅσῳ Kaibel: ὡς A. [2] εἶχεν Casaubon: ἔχειν A.

[3] ἀλλότριον A: ἀλλοτρίαν Kaibel; ἀλλότριον is a solecism, but is almost certainly what Athenaeus wrote.

[4] ἐμβάλλειν Kaibel: ἐμβάλλει AC.

[5] Ἡρακλέους Schweighäuser: Κήυκος A.

[6] ἐπὶ Schweighäuser: περὶ A (*cf.* 201 c).

he was at the moment offering sacrifice, and had assumed the conduct of the war as well, and moreover had invited those who were not related to him by birth nor associated with his country. Athenocles of Cyzicus, with a better understanding of the Homeric poetry than Aristarchus, explains to us with greater refinement that Homer passed Menelaus over without mention because he was more closely related in kinship to Agamemnon. And Demetrius of Phalerum declared that the inclusion of the verse, "for he knew in his heart that his brother was troubled," is awkward and foreign to the poet's style, and imputes meanness to the characters. "For," says he, "I think that every man of refinement has someone, either relative or friend, to whom he can go when a feast is on without waiting for an invitation." And Plato, in *The Symposium*,[a] has this to say on the same subject: "That we," he says, "may, by an alteration, render null and void the proverb to the effect that 'good men go of their own accord to the feasts of good men.' For Homer, indeed, may not only have rendered it null and void, but actually outraged it; for he represented Agamemnon as brave in matters of war, but Menelaus as a slack warrior; yet, when Agamemnon was holding a sacrificial feast, he represented the inferior man as going uninvited to the dinner of the better man." Bacchylides,[b] telling of how Heracles went to the house of Ceÿx, says: "He halted at the

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[a] 174 B; the proverb (see below, b) in question ran, "brave men go of their own accord (*i.e.* without waiting for an invitation) to the feast of cowards." Of course Homer has no proverb in mind in the passage discussed.

[b] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 33.

> ἔστα[1] δ' ἐπὶ λάινον οὐδόν, τοὶ δὲ θοίνας ἔντυον,[2] ὧδέ τ' ἔφα[3]·
> αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθῶν δαίτας εὐόχθους ἐπέρχονται δίκαιοι
> φῶτες.

αἱ δὲ παροιμίαι ἡ μέν φησιν·

> αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἴασιν,

ἡ δέ·

> αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἴασιν.

οὐ δεόντως γοῦν Πλάτων τὸν Μενέλεων ἐνόμισεν c εἶναι δειλόν, ὃν ἀρηίφιλον Ὅμηρος λέγει καὶ μόνον ὑπὲρ Πατρόκλου ἀριστεύσαντα καὶ τῷ Ἕκτορι πρὸ πάντων πρόθυμον μονομαχεῖν, καίπερ ὄντα τῇ ῥώμῃ καταδεέστερον, ἐφ' οὗ μόνου τῶν στρατευσαμένων εἴρηκεν·

> ἐν δ' αὐτὸς κίεν ᾗσι προθυμίῃσι πεποιθώς.

εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ὁ βλασφημῶν[4] αὐτὸν εἴρηκε μαλθακὸν αἰχμητὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πλάτων τῷ ὄντι μαλθακὸν αὐτὸν ὑπολαμβάνει, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τιθεὶς ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις, ὃν αὐτός φησιν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, εἴπερ εἰς αὐτὸν εἴρηται d τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος·

> οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο.

οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι λέγεται παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, τοῦθ' Ὅμηρος λέγει. πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη μαλθακὸς Μενέλαος ὁ τὸν Ἕκτορα μόνος ἀπείρξας τοῦ Πατρόκλου καὶ Εὔφορβον ἀποκτείνας τε καὶ σκυλεύσας ἐν μέσοις

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[1] ἔστα Neue: ἔστη A. [2] ἔντυον Neue: ἔντυνον A.

stone threshold, and they were making ready a feast, and thus spake he: 'Of their own accord just men approach the feasts, heaped high, of good men.'" Now of the proverbs, one says, "Of their own accord brave men go to the feasts of brave men," the other, "Of their own accord brave men go to the feasts of cowards." But it is without warrant, at any rate, that Plato thought Menelaus a coward, since Homer calls him "dear to Ares," and says that he was the only one who performed feats of valour in behalf of Patroclus,[a] and above all others was eager to fight in single combat against Hector,[b] although he was inferior to him in physical strength. And of all who were in the army he was the only one of whom the poet said[c]: "And among them he himself moved, confident in his zeal." Now if his enemy, who reviled him, called him a "slack warrior,"[d] and Plato on that account assumes that he was really slack, he could not be too quick in ranking Agamemnon also among the poltroons (although Plato himself says that he was brave), seeing that this verse is said of Agamemnon[e]: "Heavy with wine, with the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer." The truth is that if a thing is said in Homer, it is not always Homer who says it. How, in fact, could Menelaus be a coward—he the only one to keep Hector away from the body of Patroclus, killing Euphorbus and spoiling him of his arms in the very midst of the

[a] *Il.* xvii. 1.
[b] *Il.* vii. 94.
[c] *Il.* ii. 588.
[d] *Il.* xvii. 588; the speaker is Hector.
[e] *Il.* i. 225; Achilles speaks.

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[3] *ἔφα* Neue: *ἔφασ'* A.

[4] *ὁ ἐχθρὸς ὁ βλασφημῶν* A: *ὁ αἰσχρὸς βλασφημῶν* C; *cf.* schol. *Il.* xvii. 588.

e τοῖς Τρωσί; τὸ δὲ μηδὲ τὸν στίχον ὃν ᾐτιᾶτο τελείως κατανοῆσαι ἄτοπον, δι' οὗ βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος λέγεται. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδρειοτάτοις Ὅμηρος εἴωθεν ἐπιφωνεῖν, καλούντων τῶν παλαιῶν τὸν πόλεμον βοήν.

Πάντα δ' ὢν ἀκριβὴς Ὅμηρος καὶ τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο οὐ παρέλιπε τὸ δεῖν θεραπεύσαντα τὸ σωμάτιον καὶ λουσάμενον ἰέναι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως εἶπε πρὸ τῆς παρὰ Φαίαξι θοίνης·

αὐτόδιον δ' ἄρα μιν ταμίη λούσασθαι ἄνωγεν.

f ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Τηλέμαχον·

ἔς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐυξέστας λούσαντο.

"ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ ἦν, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἥκειν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σὺν ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ καὶ κονιορτῷ." δεῖ γὰρ τὸν χαρίεντα μήτε ῥυπᾶν μήτε αὐχμεῖν μήτε βορβόρῳ χαίρειν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον μὴ γαστρισόμενον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ συμ-
179 πόσιον χωρεῖν, ἀλλά τι δοῦναι πρότερον τῷ φιλοθεάμονι καὶ κατανοῆσαι τὴν οἰκίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο παρέλιπεν ὁ ποιητής·

αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον θεῖον δόμον· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
θαύμαζον κατὰ δῶμα διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος.
ὥστε γὰρ ἠελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης
δῶμα καθ' ὑψερεφὲς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Σφηξὶ ποιεῖ τὸν ἄγριον γέ-

Trojans? That Plato has not even given thorough attention to the verse which he reprehended is a curious fact; in it Menelaus is called "good at the cry." For Homer habitually uses this epithet of the bravest, since the ancients called the battle a "cry."[a]

Being exact in all matters, Homer has not omitted this small detail—the necessity of caring for the body and bathing before going to dinner. In the case of Odysseus, at any rate, he says, just before the feast among the Phaeacians[b]: "Straightway the housekeeper bade him bathe." And of the men in the retinue of Telemachus[c]: "Then went they to the well-polished tubs and bathed." "For it was unseemly," says Aristotle, "to arrive at the symposium covered with sweat and dust."[d] For the man of refinement must not be slovenly, or dirty, or have pleasure in filth, according to Heracleitus.[e] Also, the one who arrives first at another's house for dinner must not rush forthwith to the symposium to fill his belly, but he should previously accord something to the aesthetic sense, and take notice of the host's house. In fact, Homer[f] has not omitted this point either: "They themselves went into the wondrous house; and they, having gazed upon it, admired exceedingly the hall of the king fostered by Zeus, for it was as the shining of the sun or the moon in the high-roofed hall of glorious Menelaus." And Aristophanes, in the *Wasps*,[g] shows the harsh and

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[a] *Cf.* 177 c, note *e*, and schol. *Il.* xvii. 714 βοὴν λέγει (*sc.* Homer) τὴν μάχην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλαλαγμοῦ.

[b] *Od.* viii. 449.

[c] *Od.* iv. 48.

[d] See 186 e, note.

[e] Frag. 54 Bywater.

[f] *Od.* iv. 43 αὐτοὺς δ' εἰσῆγον (*sc.* θεράποντες) θεῖον δόμον, "the servants led them into the wondrous house."

[g] 1208-9; the son speaks.

ρουτα καὶ φιλοδικαστὴν καταρρυθμιζόμενον εἰς
b βίον ἥμερον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδός·

παῦ'· ἀλλὰ δευρὶ κατακλινεὶς προσμάνθανε
ξυμποτικὸς εἶναι καὶ ξυνουσιαστικός.

διδάξας τε αὐτὸν ὡς δεῖ κατακλίνεσθαί φησιν·

ἔπειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων,
ὀροφὴν θέασαι, κρεκάδι' αὐλῆς θαύμασον.

Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ θοινᾶσθαι δὲ ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς διδάσκει πάλιν Ὅμηρος, ἀπαρχὰς τῶν βρωμάτων νέμειν τοῖς θεοῖς. οἱ γοῦν περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα
c καίπερ ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπηλαίῳ·

ἔνθα δὲ πῦρ κείαντες ἐθύσαμεν ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
τυρῶν αἰνύμενοι φάγομεν.

καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς καίπερ ἐπειγομένων τῶν πρέσβεων ὡς ἐν μέσαις νυξὶν ἡκόντων ὅμως

θεοῖσι δὲ θῦσαι ἀνώγει
Πάτροκλον ὃν ἑταῖρον· ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε
θυηλάς.

καὶ σπονδοποιεῖταί γε τοὺς δαιτυμόνας·

κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο,
d νώμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπεῖσάν τ'.

ἅπερ καὶ Πλάτων φυλάσσει κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ δειπνῆσαι σπονδάς τέ φησιν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν παιωνίσαντας τοῖς νομιζομένοις γέρασι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν. παρὰ δ' Ἐπικούρῳ

litigious old man in process of being converted to a gentle mode of life by his son: "Cease! But come now, this way; lay yourself down and learn also how to be a man of conviviality and sociability." And after instructing him how he is to recline he says[a]: "Now, speak approvingly of one of the vessels, gaze at the ceiling, admire the tapestries in the court."

Again, Homer tells us what we are to do before we begin to eat, namely, we are to offer as first-fruits some of the food to the gods. At any rate, the men in the company of Odysseus, even when they were in the Cyclops's cave[b]: "Therefore" (they say) "we lighted a fire and offered sacrifice, and then we ourselves took and ate of the cheeses." And Achilles, although the envoys had come in haste in the mid-watches of the night, none the less[c] "bade Patroclus, his companion, to offer sacrifice to the gods; and he laid first-offerings on the fire." Homer also shows us the feasters at least offering libations[d]: "Young men filled the mixing-bowls to the brim with wine, and then measured it out to all, after they had poured the drink-offering into the cups. Then, when they had made libation. . . ." All of which Plato also retains in his symposium. For after the eating was over, he says[e] that they offered libation and thanksgiving to the god with the customary honours. Similarly also Xenophon. But

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[a] 1214.
[b] *Od.* ix. 231.
[c] *Il.* ix. 219.
[d] *Il.* ix. 175; the lines conclude, "when they had made libation and drunk to their heart's content they departed"; 180 b. *Cf.* Athen. 13 e.
[e] *Symp.* 176 A; the point of the unfinished quotation is that homage to the gods always preceded the drinking-bout.

οὐ σπονδή, οὐκ ἀπαρχὴ θεοῖς, ἀλλ᾿ ὥσπερ Σιμωνίδης ἔφη περὶ τῆς ἀκόσμου γυναικός,

ἄθυστα δ᾿ ἱρὰ πολλάκις κατεσθίει . . .

e Τὴν γὰρ σύμμετρον κρᾶσιν τοῦ οἴνου ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτύονος βασιλεύσαντος διδαχθῆναί φασιν Ἀθηναίους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱερὸν Διονύσου ὀρθοῦ ἱδρύσασθαι. τότε γὰρ ὀρθός ἐστι τῷ ὄντι καὶ οὐ σφαλερός, ὅταν συμμέτρως καὶ κεκραμένως πίνηται.

οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει
ἠλεός, ὅς τ᾿ ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ᾿ ἀεῖσαι
καί θ᾿ ἁπαλὸν γελάσαι καί τ᾿ ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκεν
f καί τι[1] ἔπος προέηκεν ὅπερ τ᾿ ἄρρητον ἄμεινον.

τὸν γὰρ οἶνον Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἠλεὸν ὥσπερ ἠλίθιον καλεῖ καὶ ματαιοποιόν, οὐδὲ κελεύει σκυθρωπὸν εἶναι μήτε ᾄδοντα μήτε γελῶντα μήτ᾿ ἐρρύθμως ποτὲ καὶ πρὸς ὄρχησιν τρεπόμενον. οὐχ οὕτως ἀγροῖκος οὐδ᾿ ἐπαρίστερός ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾿ ᾔδει τούτων ἑκάστου καὶ ποσότητος καὶ ποιότητος διαφοράν. ὅθεν οὐκ εἶπεν ὡς ἄρα τὸν πολύφρονα ὁ οἶνος ποιεῖ
180 ᾆσαι, ἀλλὰ μάλ᾿ ἀεῖσαι, τουτέστιν ἀμέτρως καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὥστε προσοχλεῖν· οὐδέ τι γελάσαι μὰ Δί᾿ οὐδ᾿ ὀρχήσασθαι· κοινὸν δ᾿ ἐπ᾿ ἀμφοτέρων λαβὼν τὸ ἁπαλὸν τὴν ἄνανδρον εἰς τοῦτο πρόπτωσιν ἐπιστομίζει·

καί θ᾿ ἁπαλὸν γελάσαι καί τ᾿ ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκεν.

παρὰ δὲ τῷ Πλάτωνι τούτων οὐδὲν ἔμμετρον, ἀλλὰ πίνουσι μὲν τοσοῦτον ὥστε μηδὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις ποσὶν

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[1] καί τι Homer : καί τε A.

with Epicurus there is no libation, no preliminary offering to the gods; on the contrary, it is like what Simonides[a] says of the lawless woman: "Ofttimes she eats up the offerings before they are consecrated."

As to the proper mixing of wine, they say[b] indeed that the Athenians were taught this by their king Amphictyon, and for that reason they founded a shrine to "upright" Dionysus. For the god of wine is really upright and does not totter when he[c] is drunk in just proportions and diluted. "For wine is silly in its commands; it impels even the very prudent to sing much, and rouses him even to laugh effeminately and to dance, and inspires a word which were better unspoken."[d] Homer indeed does not call wine "silly" in the sense of foolish and causing foolish actions; he does not even bid us be of gloomy countenance, refusing to sing or laugh, or on occasion even indulging in proper measure in the dance. No, Homer is not so boorish or stiff; on the contrary, he understood the nice differences of quantity and quality in all of these actions. Hence he did not say that wine makes the very prudent "sing," but he says that it makes him "sing much," that is, immoderately and so excessively as to be a nuisance besides; nor does he say, I am sure, that it makes men laugh and dance; but taking the word "effeminately" as belonging with both verbs, he tries to curb the unmanly propensity in that direction: "And rouses him even to laugh and to dance effeminately." But with Plato none of these amusements is kept within bounds; on the contrary, they drink so much

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[a] Semonides of Amorgos, *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 7. 56.

[b] Philochorus. See Athen. 38 c.

[c] The wine and the god are one.

[d] *Od.* xiv. 463.

ἵστασθαι. ὅρα[1] γὰρ τὸν ἐπίκωμον Ἀλκιβιάδην ὡς ἀσχημονεῖ· οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι τὸν ὀκτακότυλον ψυκτῆρα
b πίνουσι, προφάσεως λαβόμενοι ἐπείπερ αὐτοὺς προείλκυσεν Ἀλκιβιάδης, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ·

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπεῖσάν τ᾽ ἔπιόν θ᾽ ὅσον ἤθελε θυμός.

τούτων οὖν ἃ μὲν καθάπαξ περιγραπτέον, οἷς δὲ συμμέτρως χρηστέον ὥσπερ ἀναθήμασί τισι μικρὸν προσαποβλέψαντας, καθάπερ Ὅμηρος εἴρηκεν·

μολπή τ᾽ ὀρχηστύς τε· τὰ γάρ τ᾽ ἀναθήματα δαιτός.

Τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον τὸ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα νενευκὸς τοῖς μνηστῆρσι καὶ τοῖς Φαίαξιν ἔνειμεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ
c Νέστορι οὐδὲ Μενελάῳ· οὗ ἐν τῇ γαμοποιίᾳ μὴ συνέντες οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον ὅτι συνεχοῦς οὔσης τῆς ἑστιάσεως καὶ τῶν ἀκμαίων ἡμερῶν παρεληλυθιῶν, ἐν αἷς παρείληπτο μὲν ἡ[2] γαμουμένη πρὸς τοῦ νυμφίου, πέρας δ᾽ εἶχεν ὁ τοῦ Μεγαπένθους γάμος, αὐτοὶ δὲ μονάζοντες διῃτῶντο ὅ τε Μενέλαος καὶ ἡ Ἑλένη, μὴ συνέντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξαπατηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἔπους·

τὸν δ᾽ εὗρον δαινύντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτῃσιν,

προσσυνῆψαν τοιούτους τινὰς στίχους·

d ὣς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο καθ᾽ ὑψερεφὲς μέγα δῶμα
γείτονες ἠδὲ ἔται Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο
τερπόμενοι· μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς
φορμίζων· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους,

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[1] ὅρα Musurus : ὁρᾷ A.

[2] μὲν ἡ Musurus : μὲν οὐ A.

that they cannot stand on their own feet. For just look at Alcibiades, who comes rioting in, and observe how disgracefully he behaves; all the others also drain the two-quart cooler,[a] once they had got the excuse that Alcibiades had dragged them into it. They behaved not as Homer's heroes: "But when they had made libation and drunk to their heart's content." We must then draw the line at some of these practices once for all; in others, however, we may indulge moderately, turning our regard upon them in only slight degree, and as it were treating them as a kind of ornament, as Homer says[b]: "The song and the dance; for they are the ornaments of the feast."

In general, everything which verges on scenes such as these Homer has ascribed to the suitors or to the Phaeacians, but never to Nestor or Menelaus. The school of Aristarchus, not understanding this in the case of the wedding-feast,[c] and not observing that the entertainment was continuous, the principal days—those on which the bride had been taken home by the groom—having already passed; nor observing that the wedding of Megapenthes was already over, and that Menelaus and Helen were eating quite alone; not understanding this, I say, but being misled by the first verse,[d] "Him they found giving a marriage feast to many of his kinsmen," they have added the following verses[e]: "Thus did they feast in the large high-roofed hall, neighbours and kinsmen of glorious Menelaus, making merry; and among them the divine minstrel sang as he played the lyre, and two tumblers, leaders of the dance, whirled about by themselves in the

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[a] *Symp.* 214 A.
[b] *Od.* i. 152.
[c] *Od.* iv. 3 ff.
[d] *Od.* iv. 3.
[e] *Od.* iv. 15.

μετενεγκόντες ἐκ τῆς Ὁπλοποιίας σὺν αὐτῷ γε τῷ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἁμαρτήματι. οὐ γὰρ ἐξάρχοντες οἱ κυβιστητῆρες, ἀλλ' ἐξάρχοντος τοῦ ᾠδοῦ πάντως ὠρχοῦντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάρχειν τῆς φόρμιγγος ἴδιον. διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἡσίοδός φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι·

> θεαὶ δ' ἐξῆρχον ἀοιδῆς
> Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες,

καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος·

> αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα.

καλεῖ δὲ Στησίχορος μὲν τὴν Μοῦσαν ἀρχεσίμολπον, Πίνδαρος δ' ἁγησίχορα[1] τὰ προοίμια· Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος ὅλον τὸν γάμον περιέγραψε τοπάζων πρώτας ἡμέρας εἶναι, καὶ τὸ λῆγον αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἕωλον τῆς συμποσίας οὐκ ἐπιλογιζόμενος. ἔπειτα κελεύει γράφειν· "δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε καθ' αὑτοὺς" ἐν τῷ δασεῖ γράμματι, σολοικίζειν ἀναγκάζων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς ἐστιν αὐτούς, τὸ δὲ λέγειν ἑαυτοὺς σόλοικον.

Ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον, ἡ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων εἰς τὸ σῶφρον τοῦτο συμπόσιον εἰσαγωγὴ παρέγγραφός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ Κρητικοῦ χοροῦ μετενηνεγμένη, περὶ
181 οὗ φησιν ἐν Ὁπλοποιίᾳ·

[1] ἁγησίχορα Schroeder (*P.L.G.*⁶ i. 15): ἀγησίχορα A.

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[a] *Il.* xviii. 604; the argument is that in *Il.* xviii. 606 we should read (against Aristarchus) ἐξάρχοντος, not ἐξάρχοντες. The word "leading," he maintains, should refer to the minstrel, not to the tumblers. *Cf.* 145 d, note *b*.

[b] 205.

[c] *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 76.

midst of them." These verses they have taken over from *The Making of the Arms*,[a] along with the very selfsame mistake in the use of words. For it was not the tumblers who were leaders of the dance, but they surely danced with the minstrel as leader. For "leading" belongs properly to the lyre. Hence Hesiod says in *The Shield*[b]: "And the goddesses, the Muses of Pieria, led the song." And Archilochus[c]: "I myself am leader in the Lesbian paean to the accompaniment of the flute." Stesichorus calls[d] the Muse "leader of song," while Pindar calls[e] preludes "leaders of the choral bands." Diodorus, of the school of Aristophanes, deleted the entire passage about the wedding, thinking that only the opening days of it were meant, and taking no account of the concluding portion of the festival or, again, of the aftermath[f] of the party. Consequently Diodorus wishes to write: "Two tumblers among themselves"[g] (with the rough breathing), thus forcing a solecism. For Homer's phrase means, "they whirled about by themselves," *i.e.* "separately," but to use the form *heautous* for that is a solecism.

As I was saying, however, the introduction of special entertainments into this sober kind of symposium is an intrusion which has made its way over from the Cretan chorus, about which the poet says, in *The Making of the Arms*[h]: "And upon it he, the

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[d] *Ibid.* frag. 77.

[e] *Pyth.* i. 4.

[f] τὸ ἕωλον τῆς συμποσίας literally means "the stale or left-over remnant from the drinking-bout," eaten on the succeeding days.

[g] Instead of "by themselves" (*i.e.* apart from the rest of the company); he would delete the *Od.* passage, and alter the reading in the *Il.* by a rough breathing.

[h] *Il.* xviii. 590, describing the design on the shield.

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,
τῷ ἴκελον οἷόν ποτ᾽ ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.
ἔνθα μὲν ἠίθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ὠρχεῦντ᾽, ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι.

τούτοις γὰρ ἐπιβάλλει·

πολλὸς δ᾽ ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περιίσταθ᾽ ὅμιλος
b τερπόμενος· μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς
φορμίζων·[1] δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.

τοῖς μὲν οὖν Κρησὶν ἥ τε ὄρχησις ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὸ κυβιστᾶν. διό φησι πρὸς τὸν Κρῆτα Μηριόνην·

Μηριόνη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὀρχηστήν περ ἐόντα
ἔγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε διαμπερές, εἴ σ᾽ ἔβαλόν περ.

ὅθεν καὶ Κρητικὰ καλοῦσι τὰ ὑπορχήματα·

Κρῆτα[2] μὲν καλέουσι τρόπον, τὸ δ᾽ ὄργανον Μολοσσόν.

c "οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι Λακωνισταί," φησὶν ὁ Τίμαιος, "ἐν τετραγώνοις χοροῖς ᾖδον." καθόλου δὲ διάφορος ἦν ἡ μουσικὴ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς χοροὺς καὶ τοὺς κυκλίους προτιμώντων, Συρακοσίων δὲ τοὺς ἰαμβιστάς, ἄλλων δ᾽ ἄλλο τι. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀρίσταρχος οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Μενελάου συμπόσιον ἐμβαλὼν οὓς οὐ προσῆκε στίχους καὶ τῆς Λακώνων παιδείας ἀλλότριον ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σω- d φροσύνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Κρητικοῦ χοροῦ τὸν ᾠδὸν ἐξεῖλεν, ἐπιτεμὼν τὰ ποιήματα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·

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[1] *μετὰ δέ σφιν . . . φορμίζων* added by Kaibel.

halting one, of exceeding fame, skilfully wrought a choral band, like that which Daedalus once in wide Cnossus trained for Ariadne of the beautiful locks. In that band danced young men and maidens worth many cows, holding each others' hands at the wrist." For to these verses he adds[a]: "And large was the throng that stood about the lovely chorus, making merry; and among them the divine minstrel sang as he played the lyre, and two tumblers, leaders of the dance, whirled about by themselves in the midst of them." Not only, therefore, is dancing indigenous among the Cretans, but so also is tumbling. Hence one says to Meriones, who is a Cretan[b]: "Meriones, dancer though thou art, soon had my spear put an end to thee for ever, if I had but hit thee." Whence lively dances are called Cretan[c]: "Cretan they call the manner,[d] but the instrument is Molossian." "The so-called 'Laconists,'" says Timaeus,[e] "sang in rectangular choruses." Broadly speaking, the music of the Greeks varied; the Athenians held in special esteem the Dionysiac and circular choruses, the Syracusans affected the choral songs of the lampoon-writers, while others again had something different. Aristarchus, however, by interpolating in the symposium of Menelaus verses which did not belong there, has produced a symposium which is foreign to Laconian culture and to that king's sobriety, and what is more, he has even removed the minstrel from the Cretan chorus by cutting down the verses in the following manner: "And large

[a] l. 603.
[b] *Il.* xvi. 617; the speaker is Aeneas.
[c] Simonides, *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 31.
[d] *sc.* of the dance.
[e] *F.H.G.* i. 201.

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[2] Κρῆτα Plutarch, *Qu. symp.* ix. 15. 2: κρῆταν AC.

πολλὸς δ' ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περιίσταθ' ὅμιλος
τερπόμενος· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.

ὥστ' ἀνίατον γίνεσθαι παντάπασι τὸ ἐξάρχοντες, μηκέτι δυναμένης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ᾠδὸν ἀναφορᾶς σῴζεσθαι.

Διότι δὲ οὐ πιθανὸν ἀκρόαμα παρὰ τῷ Μενελάῳ τυγχάνειν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ δι' ὁμιλίας ὅλον τὸ συμπόσιον e περαίνεσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὄνομα δὲ μηδὲν εἰρῆσθαι τοῦ ᾠδοῦ μηδὲ ᾠδὴν ἣν ᾖδε μηδὲ προσέχειν τοὺς περὶ Τηλέμαχον αὐτῷ, καθάπερ δ' ἐν σιωπῇ τινι καὶ ἠρεμίᾳ[1] κατανοεῖν μᾶλλον τὸν οἶκον· καίτοι γε πῶς οὐκ ἀπίθανον τοὺς τῶν φρονιμωτάτων υἱέας Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Νέστορος ἐπαριστέρους εἰσάγεσθαι, ὥστε τρόπον ἀγροίκων τινῶν μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς παρεσκευασμένοις ἀκροάμασιν; ὁ γοῦν Ὀδυσσεὺς προσέχει τοῖς τῶν Φαιάκων ᾀσματοποιοῖς·

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
f μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θαύμαζε δὲ θυμῷ,

καίπερ ἔχων πολλὰ τὰ περιέλκοντα καὶ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν·

κήδεά μοι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἤπερ ἀοιδαί.

πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀβέλτερος εἴη ὁ Τηλέμαχος ᾠδοῦ παρόντος καὶ κυβιστητῆρος προσκύπτων πρὸς τὸν Πεισίστρατον καὶ περὶ τῶν σκευῶν διαλεγόμενος[2]; 182 ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς ζωγράφος πάντα ὅμοιον

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[1] ἠρεμίᾳ Musurus : ἐρημίαι A.

[2] καὶ περὶ τῶν σκευῶν διαλεγόμενος Gulick : καὶ τῶν σκευῶν διατιθέμενος A. διαψιθυριζόμενος, "whispering" (?)

was the throng that stood about the lovely chorus, making merry; and two tumblers, leaders of the dance, whirled about by themselves in the midst of them."[a] Consequently it becomes impossible to emend "leaders," since it is no longer possible to keep the reference to the minstrel.[b]

That it is not likely that there was any such entertainment in the house of Menelaus is plain from the fact that the entire symposium is carried on by conversation held among the guests themselves; there is no mention whatever of the name of the minstrel, nor even of the song which he sang; nor do Telemachus and his followers pay any attention to him, but rather, as if in a silence and quietness, observe the room; and yet is it not at least unlikely that the sons of the wisest men, Odysseus and Nestor, should be represented in the scene as boorish men, paying no attention, in the manner of rustics, to the entertainments provided for them? Odysseus, at any rate, is attentive to the song-makers of the Phaeacians[c]: "But Odysseus gazed at the twinkling of their feet, and marvelled in his soul," although he had many things to distract him, and could say[d]: "Cares there are in my heart, more than songs." Would not Telemachus, then, be stupid if, when a minstrel was present and a tumbler as well, he bent his head in a whisper to Peisistratus[e] and conversed about the vessels before them?[f] Homer, however, like the good artist that he is, portrays

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[a] *i.e.*, he struck out the words, "and among them the divine minstrel sang as he played the lyre."

[b] By changing it to the genitive singular; see 180 d, note a.

[c] *Od.* viii. 264.

[d] *ibid.* 154; but Homer has ἄεθλοι, "games," for ἀοιδαί, "songs."

[e] *Od.* iv. 70.

[f] See crit. note.

τῷ πατρὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον παρίστησι. πεποίηκεν γοῦν ἀμφοτέρους τὸν μὲν τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ διὰ δακρύων γνωριζομένους.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἐπικουρείῳ[1] συμποσίῳ κολάκων ἐστὶν ἄγυρις ἀλλήλους ἐπαινούντων, τὸ δὲ Πλάτωνος πλῆρές ἐστιν μυκτηριστῶν ἀλλήλους τωθαζόντων· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου λόγον[2] σιωπῶ. παρὰ δ' Ὁμήρῳ συγκεκρότηται[3] τὰ σώφρονα συμπόσια. καί ποτε μὲν ἐπῄνεσέ τις φήσας πρὸς τὸν Μενέλαον ὡς οὐ τολμᾷ λέγειν

b ἄντα σέθεν, τοῦ νῶι θεοῦ ὣς τερπόμεθ' αὐδῇ.

ὁ δ' ἐπελάβετό τινος τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς λεγομένων ἢ γιγνομένων·

καὶ νῦν, εἴ τί που ἔστι, πίθοιό μοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος μεταδόρπιος.

ὁ δὲ πάλιν·

Τηλέμαχε, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων.

187 [4]οὔτε γὰρ κόλακα πρέπον ἐστὶν εἶναι οὔτε μυκτηριστήν. c πάλιν Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητεῖ περὶ δυσπεψίας ὥστ' οἰωνίσασθαι, εἶθ' ἑξῆς περὶ πυρετῶν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτρέχουσαν τῇ λέξει ἀρρυθμίαν τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; Πλάτων δὲ—τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς λυγγὸς ὀχλούμενον καὶ θεραπευόμενον ἀνακογχυλιασμοῖς ὕδατος, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς

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[1] Ἐπικουρείῳ Kaibel : ἐπικούρωι A : π̄ ἐπικουρίου lemma.

[2] τὸν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου περὶ Σωκράτους λόγον, "Alcibiades' speech about Socrates"?

[3] συγκεκρότηται Schweighäuser : κεκρότηται AC.

[4] On the transposition of the following see **iv. 177 a**, critical note (p. 304; *cf.* p. 326).

Telemachus as in all things resembling his father. He has, at any rate, represented them both as being recognized by their tears, the one in the court of Alcinous,[a] the other at the court of Menelaus.[b]

But in the symposium of Epicurus there is an assemblage of flatterers praising one another, while the symposium of Plato is full of men who turn their noses up in jeers at one another; for I pass over in silence what is said about Alcibiades.[c] In Homer, on the other hand, only sober symposia are organized. And sometimes one gives praise, saying to Menelaus that he dares not speak[d] "In thy presence, whose voice we twain delight in as in the voice of a god." And Homer reproved some of the things said or done not rightly[e]: "And now, if it can in any wise be, yield to me; for I delight not in lamentation while supping." And again he says[f]: "Telemachus, what a word has escaped the barrier of thy teeth?" That, surely, is not the mark either of a flatterer or one who turns his nose up. Again, Epicurus in his symposium puts questions about indigestion in order to get omens from it; following that he asks about fevers. What need is there even to speak of the lack of proportion which pervades his style? As for Plato—I pass over the man who was bothered by the hiccups and cured by gargles of water and still more by the insertion

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[a] Odysseus, *Od.* viii. 521.

[b] Telemachus, *Od.* iv. 113.

[c] Or possibly, "the speech by Alcibiades," on Socrates, which is an encomium, and sufficiently refutes the writer's charge against Plato's symposium.

[d] *Od.* iv. 160; Peisistratus, Nestor's son, speaks.

[e] *ibid.* 193, with the same speaker.

[f] *Od.* iii. 230; Athena reproves Telemachus.

ὑποθήκαις τοῦ κάρφους ἵνα τὴν ῥῖνα κνήσας[1] πτάρῃ, παρίημι· κωμῳδεῖν γὰρ ἤθελε καὶ διασύρειν—χλευάζει τε τὰ ἰσόκωλα τὰ Ἀγάθωνος καὶ τὰ ἀντίθετα, καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ παράγει λέγοντα ὅτι πασχητιᾷ. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοιαῦτα
d γράφοντες τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐκβάλλουσι τῶν πόλεων. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκ θύμβρας, ἔφη Δημοχάρης, λόγχη οὔτ' ἐκ τοιούτων λόγων ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται. οὐ μόνον δ' Ἀλκιβιάδην διασύρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Χαρμίδην καὶ Εὐθύδημον καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν νέων. τοῦτο δὲ κωμῳδοῦντός ἐστι τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μουσεῖον, ἣν ὁ μὲν Πίνδαρος "Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα" ἔφη, Θουκυδίδης δ' ἐν τῷ εἰς Εὐριπίδην ἐπιγράμματι "Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάδα," ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἑστίαν καὶ
e πρυτανεῖον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. διότι τοίνυν κατέψευσται τῶν νεανίσκων πάρεστι σκοπεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδην φησὶν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ διαλόγῳ παρακμάσαντα τότε πρῶτον ἄρξασθαι Σωκράτει λαλεῖν ὅτε πάντες αὐτὸν κατέλιπον οἱ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμηταί. λέγει γὰρ ταῦτα κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ διαλόγου. τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ Χαρμίδῃ ἐναντιώματα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαλόγου ὁ βουλόμενος εἴσεται. ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀσυμ-
f φώνως ποτὲ μὲν σκοτοδινιῶντα καὶ μεθυσκόμενον τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι καὶ γινόμενον ἔξεδρον καὶ

[1] κνήσας Plato (οἵῳ κνήσαις ἂν τὴν ῥῖνα): κινήσας A.

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[a] *Symp.* 185 D E.

[b] Plato, *Rep.* 595.

[c] *Cf.* Athen. 215 c.

[d] *Symp.* 222 B.

[e] *i.e.* the abode of the Muses.

[f] *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 76.

[g] *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 45.

[h] *Cf.* 254 b. After the capture of Athens by Lysander,

of a straw to tickle his nose and make him sneeze[a]; for he wanted to introduce fun and mockery—Plato, I say, ridicules Agathon's balanced clauses and antitheses, and also brings on the scene Alcibiades, who avows that he is consumed with lust. Nevertheless, while writing that kind of stuff, they banish Homer from their states![b] But, as Demochares used to say,[c] you cannot make a lance-head out of savoury, nor a good man out of such talk. Plato ridicules not only Alcibiades but also Charmides and Euthydemus[d] and many other young men. This is the characteristic of one who satirizes the city of Athens, the Museum[e] of Hellas, which Pindar called[f] the "prop of Hellas," and which Thucydides, in the epigram on Euripides,[g] called "the Hellas of Hellas," while the Pythian god proclaimed it the "hearth and town-hall of the Hellenes."[h] The reason why he has traduced the young men may be seen in Plato himself. In the case of Alcibiades, he says in the dialogue named from him that he did not begin to have converse with Socrates until he had passed out of his early bloom, when all who lusted for his body had deserted him. He tells us this at the beginning of the dialogue.[i] The contradictory things which he says in the case of Charmides may be learned from the dialogue itself by anyone who wishes. For he represents him[j] inconsistently as sometimes in a state of vertigo and intoxication for love of the lad, and beside

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the Spartans were warned by the oracle *τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μὴ κινεῖν*, "disturb not the common hearth of Hellas," Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 6. The prytaneum was the residence of the prytanes, or City Fathers, in all cities. *Cf.* 186 a, note a (p. 320).

[i] *Alcib.* 103 A.

[j] Socrates.

καθάπερ νεβρὸν ὑποπεπτωκότα λέοντος ἀλκῇ, ἅμα δὲ καταφρονεῖν φησι τῆς ὥρας αὐτοῦ.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ Ξενοφῶντος συμπόσιον καίπερ ἐπαινούμενον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἔχει τούτων ἐπιλήψεις. Καλλίας μὲν γὰρ συνάγει τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐπειδήπερ τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτοῦ Αὐτόλυκος Παναθήναια παγκράτιον ἐστεφανώθη. καὶ εὐθὺς
188 οἱ κατακλιθέντες τῷ παιδὶ προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ πατρὸς παρακαθημένου. “ὥσπερ γὰρ ὅταν φέγγος ἐν νυκτὶ παρῇ πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Αὐτολύκου κάλλος πάντων ἐφέλκεται τὰς ὄψεις ἐφ᾿ ἑαυτό. ἔπειτα τῶν παρόντων οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ᾿ ἐκείνου· οἱ μέν γε σιωπηλότεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό πως.” ἀλλ᾿ οὐχ Ὅμηρος τοιοῦτόν τι εἰπεῖν ἐπεχείρησε καίπερ τῆς Ἑλένης παρούσης, περὶ ἧς[1] τοῦ κάλλους τις τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῇ τοιαῦτ᾿ εἶπεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκνικώμενος·

b οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ᾿ ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇσ᾿ εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.

εἶτά φησιν·

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς τοίηπερ ἐοῦσ᾿ ἐν νηυσὶ νεέσθω.

τὰ δὲ μειράκια τὰ ὡς τὸν Μενέλαον παραγενόμενα, ὁ Νέστορος υἱὸς καὶ ὁ Τηλέμαχος, ἐν οἴνῳ ὄντες καὶ ἐν γαμικῷ συμποσίῳ διατρίβοντες καὶ τῆς
c Ἑλένης παρακαθημένης, ὡς πρέπον ἐστίν, ἡσυχίαν

[1] ἧς Dindorf: τῆς A.

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[a] *Charm.* 155 D.

[b] Xen. *Symp.* 1. 9.

himself, and as a fawn cowering before the strength of a lion [a]; and then again he declares that he takes no thought of the lad's beauty.

Nevertheless, even the symposium described by Xenophon, although it is praised, admits occasions for censure not fewer than these. Callias, for example, gets the symposium together when his favourite Autolycus had been crowned victor in the pancratium at the Panathenaea. And immediately the guests on the couches give their attention to the lad, even though his father is seated beside him. "For just as when a blaze of light, appearing at night, attracts the eyes of all, so also the beauty of Autolycus draws the gaze of all to itself. And so there was no one present whose soul was not somehow affected by the lad; some, to be sure, lapsed into greater silence, but others began to assume different poses." [b] Homer, on the other hand, has not undertaken to tell us anything of this sort even though he has Helen before him, of whose beauty one of those who sat opposite her uttered words like these, forced from him by the truth [c]: "'Tis no cause for anger that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans should suffer woes a long time for such a woman as she; for she is marvellously like the deathless goddesses in countenance." Yet later he says: "But even so, such though she be, let her go home in the ships." And then there are the young lads who pay a visit to Menelaus, Nestor's son and Telemachus; plied with wine, attending a wedding symposium, they hold their peace in the presence of Helen, as is

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[c] *Il.* iii. 156; the old men of Troy are watching Helen, and speak the words quoted. *Cf.* Aristot. *Nic. Eth.* 1109 b, where we have a sermon on this text.

ἄγοντες[1] πρὸς τὸ περιβόητον ἐκκεκωφωμένοι κάλλος. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης τίνος χάριν τῶν αὐλητρίδων ἀνεχόμενος καὶ τοῦ ὀρχουμένου παιδὸς καὶ κιθαρίζοντος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς κυβιστώσης γυναικὸς ἀπρεπῶς τὸ μύρον ἀπείπατο; οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀγελαστὶ ἠνέσχετο κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη·

> τοὺς ὠχριῶντας,[2] τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις,
> ὧν ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης καὶ Χαιρεφῶν.

Καὶ μὴν ἀσύμφωνα καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ αὐστηρό-
d τητι. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κριτόβουλος, μειράκιον ἀστεῖον, γέροντα καὶ διδάσκαλον αὑτοῦ τὸν Σωκράτη σκώπτει πολὺ τῶν Σιληνῶν αἰσχίονα λέγων εἶναι. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ διαμορφοσκοπεῖται καὶ κριτὰς ἑλόμενος τόν τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα προτίθησι νικητήρια φιλήματα τῶν κριτῶν. τίς οὖν τῶν νέων ἐντυχὼν τούτοις οὐκ ἐπιτριβήσεται μᾶλλον ἤπερ εἰς ἀρετὴν ἂν[3] προαχθείη;

Παρὰ δ' Ὁμήρῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μενελάου συμποσίῳ προβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ ἐν διατριβῇ ζητήματα καὶ πολιτικῶς ὁμιλοῦντες τέρπουσιν ἀλλήλους
e καὶ ἡμᾶς. ὁ γοῦν Μενέλαος παραγενομένων ἐκ τοῦ λουτρῶνος τῶν περὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν παρατεθέντων παρακαλεῖ μεταλαμβάνειν λέγων τάδε·

[1] ἄγοντες A : ἄγουσι C.
[2] τοὺς ὠχριῶντας Aristoph. : τοὺς ωτας τοὺς A.
[3] ἂν added by Kaibel.

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[a] Xen. *Symp.* 2. 3, where Socrates frankly enjoys the dinner and the amusements which follow, but refuses to

proper, struck completely dumb before her famous beauty. But Socrates! Why did he tolerate the flute-girls, the boy dancing and playing the lyre, and even the woman who indecently turns somersaults, and then decline the perfume?[a] Nobody, indeed, could have borne his use of it without laughter if he had in mind these verses[b]: "Those pale-faced men, those unshod beggars, you mean, of whom Socrates, poor devil, is one, and Chaerephon."

But what follows this is also inconsistent with the strictness of his life. That is to say, Critobulus, a witty lad, pokes fun at Socrates, who is an elderly man and his teacher, saying[c] that he is much uglier than the Sileni. Socrates then matches his beauty, point by point, with that of Critobulus and having chosen as judges the boy and the dancing-girl, proposes as prizes for the winner the kisses of the judges. What young man, I ask, who comes upon this passage, will not be corrupted rather than stimulated to goodness?

In Homer's account of the symposium of Menelaus, on the other hand, they propound to each other questions as though they were in a company of learned men, and by civilized conversation they delight one another, and us as well. Menelaus, for example, when Telemachus and his associates have returned from the bath and the accompaniments of the meal have been placed before them, invites them to take their share in these words[d]: "Help yourselves

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accept Callias's offer of scents for his beard. "For," he declares, "there is one odour appropriate to a woman, but another odour for a man."

[b] Aristoph. *Nub.* 103.

[c] Xen. *Symp.* 4. 19.

[d] *Od.* iv. 60.

σίτου δ' ἅπτεσθον καὶ χαίρετον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
δείπνου παυσαμένω[1] εἰρησόμεθ' οἵτινές ἐστον.

ἔπειτα προσεπιδίδωσι τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῷ φιλανθρωπευόμενος·

ὣς φάτο καί σφιν νῶτα βοὸς παρὰ πίονα θῆκεν
f ὄπτ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑλών, τά ῥά οἱ γέρα πάρθεσαν αὐτῷ.

φαγόντες δ' ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ σιωπῆς, ὡς πρέπει νέοις, ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλοῦσιν ἠρέμα προσκύψαντες οὐ περὶ ἐδεσμάτων, φησίν, οὐδὲ τῶν[2] θεραπαινῶν τοῦ κεκληκότος ὑφ' ὧν ἐλούσαντο, περὶ δὲ τῶν κτημάτων τοῦ ὑποδεξαμένου·

Ζηνός που τοιαῦτα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται.

βέλτιον γὰρ οὕτως φησὶν ὁ Σέλευκος γράφεσθαι. Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ οὐ δεόντως γράφει·

189 Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή.

οὐ γὰρ τῆς οἰκίας τὸ κάλλος μόνον ἀποθαυμάζουσι. πῶς γὰρ ἤλεκτρον καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ἐλέφας ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ἦν; ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ οἴκου εἰρήκασιν ὥς ἐστι "δώματα ἠχήεντα"· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ τὰ ὑψόροφα καὶ μεγάλα· περὶ δὲ τῶν σκευῶν τὸ

χρυσοῦ τ' ἠλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος.

οἷς εἰκότως ἐπιφέρεται·

b Ζηνός που τοιαῦτα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.

[1] παυσαμένου A: πασσαμένω Homer ("have eaten of the dinner").
[2] τῶν added by Kaibel.

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[a] See critical note.
[b] *Od*. iv. 65.

to the food and enjoy yourselves; later, when we have ceased from our dinner,[a] we will ask who ye twain are." Thereupon, as a special mark of kindness, he gave them in addition some of the food that had been placed before himself[b]: "Thus spake he, and took in his hands and placed before them the fat roasted chine of an ox, which they had set before him as his special portion." And after eating in silence, as becomes young men, they talk quietly with one another with heads bent together, not on the subject of the food, he says,[c] nor even about their host's maidservants, by whom they had been bathed, but rather about the rich possessions of him who had given them welcome: "Such verily, are the rich possessions that are stored in the house of Zeus."[d] For in this way, Seleucus says, the verse is better written. But Aristarchus writes it not as it should be: "Such verily, is the courtyard of Olympian Zeus within." For it is not merely the beauty of the house that they admire; how, for example, could there have been amber and silver and ivory on the walls? On the contrary, while they do comment on the house, saying that it has "resounding halls" (such, of course, are halls which are high-roofed and spacious), it is about the vessels they speak in the line,[e] "of gold and amber, yea, and silver and ivory"; after which comes naturally, "Such, verily, are the rich possessions that are stored in the house of Zeus, so countless many are these; wonder holds me as I look upon them." But to

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[c] Either Masurius (185 A) or, as C. Schmidt (*De Herodico Crateteo*) thinks, Herodicus of Babylon, opponent of the Aristarcheans; *cf.* Athen. 192 b, 222 a.

[d] *Od.* iv. 74.

[e] *Od.* iv. 73.

οὐκ ἐστὶν δ' ἀκόλουθον τῷ

> Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλὴ

ἐπιφέρειν

> ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά,

σόλοικον ὂν τῷ ἀσυνήθει[1] τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. ἔτι τοίνυν οὐδ' ἡ αὐλὴ ἁρμόττει ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου. ὁ γὰρ διαπνεόμενος τόπος αὐλὴ λέγεται, καὶ διαυλωνίζειν φαμὲν τὸ δεχόμενον ἐξ ἑκατέρου πνεῦμα χωρίον.
c ἔτι δὲ αὐλὸς μὲν τὸ ὄργανον, ὅτι[2] διέρχεται τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ πᾶν τὸ διατεταμένον εἰς εὐθύτητα σχῆμα αὐλὸν καλοῦμεν ὥσπερ τὸ στάδιον καὶ τὸν κρουνὸν τοῦ αἵματος·

> αὐτίκα δ' αὐλὸς ἀνὰ ῥῖνας παχὺς ἦλθε,

καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς ὀρθὸν ἀνατείνῃ αὐλῶπιν. λέγονται δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ ἱεροί τινες αὐλῶνες, ὧν μέμνηται Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ. καλοῦσι δ' ἀρσενικῶς τοὺς αὐλῶνας, ὥσπερ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ δʹ καὶ πάντες οἱ καταλογάδην
d συγγραφεῖς, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ θηλυκῶς. Καρκίνος μὲν Ἀχιλλεῖ·

> βαθεῖαν εἰς αὐλῶνα περίδρομον στρατοῦ.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Σκύθαις·

> κρημνούς τε καὶ σήραγγας ἠδ' ἐπακτίας
> αὐλῶνας.

ἐκδεκτέον οὖν καὶ τὸ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένει ἐν τῷ

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[1] ἀσυνήθει A: ἀσυνάπτῳ (“disconnected”) Kaibel. But why try to put sense into this pedantic nonsense?

the line, “ Such, verily, is the courtyard of Olympian Zeus within,” it is a *non sequitur* to add “ so countless many are these,” being a solecism by reason of the unusual character [a] of the reading. Further, the word court-yard (*aulê*) [b] does not even accord with the house. For the word used is of a place across which the air blows, and we speak of “ letting a draught through,” of a place which receives air from both sides. Again there is the instrument called *aulos*, because the air goes through it, and any figure prolonged in a straight line we call *aulos*, like a stadium, or a gush of blood : “ Forthwith a thick gush came from his nostrils ; ” [c] or of the helmet when it extends straight up from the middle we say that it is “ tube-like.” [d] At Athens there are certain “ sacred hollows ” (*aulones*), as they are called, which Philochorus mentions in the ninth book.[e] The noun meaning “ hollows ” is masculine, as in Thucydides, Book iv.,[f] and all the historians who write in prose ; but in the poets it is feminine. Carcinus, in *Achilles* [g] : “ Into a deep hollow which surrounded the army.” And Sophocles in *The Scythians* [h] : “ Crags and caves and hollows by the shore.” We must therefore take the word as feminine also in Eratosthenes’

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[a] See critical note.

[b] The etymologies here proceed from the verb ἄημι, “ to blow,” and comprise the words *aulê* “ court,” διαυλωνίζειν, “ to let a draught through,” *aulos* “ pipe,” “ flute,” “ tube,” lit. “ blower,” *aulon*, “ channel,” “ ravine,” “ trench.”

[c] *Od.* xxii. 18.

[d] αὐλῶπις, according to some, meant the socket for the plume.

[e] *F.H.G.* i. 409 (*Attica*).

[f] ch. 103 (as a proper name).

[g] *T.G.F.*^{2} 798.

[h] *ibid.* 252.

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[2] ὅτι Kaibel : ᾧ AC.

Ἑρμῇ θηλυκῶς εἰρῆσθαι "βαθὺς διαφύεται αὐλών"
ἀντὶ τοῦ βαθεῖα, καθάπερ λέγεται "θῆλυς ἐέρση".
πᾶν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐλή τε καὶ αὐλὼν λέγεται.
e νῦν δὲ τὰ βασίλεια λέγουσιν αὐλάς, ὥσπερ Μένανδρος·

αὐλὰς θεραπεύειν καὶ σατράπας.

καὶ Δίφιλος·

αὐλὰς θεραπεύειν δ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
ἢ φυγάδος ἢ πεινῶντος ἢ μαστιγίου,

ἤτοι διὰ τὸ μεγάλους ἔχειν τοὺς πρὸ τῶν οἴκων
ὑπαιθρίους τόπους ἢ τῷ παραυλίζεσθαι καὶ παρακοιμᾶσθαι
τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῖς βασιλείοις. Ὅμηρος
δὲ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀεὶ τάττει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων
τόπων, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ τοῦ ἑρκείου Ζηνὸς βωμός. ὁ
f μέντοι γε Πηλεὺς καταλαμβάνεται

αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ· ἔχε δὲ χρύσειον ἄλεισον,
σπένδων αἴθοπα οἶνον ἐπ' αἰθομένοισ' ἱεροῖσι.

ὁ δὲ Πρίαμος

αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον.

καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς προστάττει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φήμιον·

ἀλλ' ἐξελθόντες μεγάρων εὖ ναιεταόντων
190 ἐκ φόνου εἰς αὐλήν.

ὅτι δὲ ὁμοῦ τόν τε οἶκον καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἐπῄνεσεν ὁ Τηλέμαχος ἐμφανίζει ὁ Μενέλαος·

τέκνα φίλ', ἦ τοι Ζηνὶ βροτῶν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐρίζοι·
ἀθάνατοι γὰρ τοῦ γε δόμοι καὶ κτήματ' ἔασιν.

Hermes,[a] where we have "A deep[b] hollow runs through it," *bathys* being for *batheia*, precisely like *thêlys eersê*, "fresh" dew. Everything, then, of this nature[c] is said to be an *aulê* ("court-yard") or an *aulôn* ("hollow"). But in the present instance, in speaking of the king's palace they say *aulae* ("courts"), as Menander[d] does: "To worship courts and nabobs." And Diphilus[e]: "To worship courts, as it seems to me, stamps one as an exile or a starveling or a rogue from the whipping-post." That is, they are called "courts" because the open spaces in front of the house are large, or because the king's bodyguard bivouac[f] and lie down to sleep beside the palace. But Homer always uses "court" (singular) of the open spaces, where the altar of Zeus, god of the enclosure, was placed. Peleus, at least, is found[g] "In the feeding-place of the court; and he held a gold goblet as he poured a libation of sparkling wine upon the blazing victims." And Priam[h]: "In the feeding-places of the court was rolling in the filth." Odysseus, too, commands Phemius and his companion: "Nay then, depart from the well-built halls out of the slaughter into the court."[i] But that Telemachus praised the house as well as the rich possessions is made clear by Menelaus: "Dear children, surely no mortal man would vie with Zeus; for *his* halls and rich possessions are deathless."[j]

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[a] Frag. 8 Hiller.

[b] *bathys*, masculine, instead of *batheia*, feminine; so *thêlys*, masculine, for the feminine, *thêlyia*, Hesiod, *Scut.* 395.

[c] *i.e.* where the wind may blow through, resuming 189 b.

[d] Kock iii. 235.

[e] Kock ii. 572.

[f] παραυλίζεσθαι, "to sleep in the open," is another derivative from αὐλή.

[g] *Il.* xi. 774.

[h] *Il.* xxiv. 640.

[i] *Od.* xxii. 375.

[j] *Od.* iv. 78.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐν ᾧ Ὅμηρος ἐπιδεξίως ἀφορμὴν εὗρεν λόγων, ὥστε κτῆσιν συγκρῖναι φίλου. οὐ γὰρ ὡς πρόβλημα προτείνει, ἀλλ' ἐπιχαρίτως παρείρας ὁ Μενέλαος, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσε τῶν ἐπαίνων, τὸ μὲν εἶναι πλούσιος οὐκ ἀρνεῖται· κἀνταῦθα δὲ περιελὼν τὸν φθόνον b "πολλὰ γάρ φησιν παθὼν" ἔχειν αὐτά.[1] οὐ μέντοι γε ἀξιοῖ ἑαυτὸν θεοῖς συγκρίνειν·

> ἀθάνατοι γὰρ τοῦ γε δόμοι καὶ κτήματ' ἔασιν.

ἐνδειξάμενος δὲ φιλάδελφον ἦθος καὶ μετ' ἀνάγκης φήσας ζῆν τε καὶ πλουτεῖν ἀντιπαρέθηκε τὸν τῆς φιλίας λόγον·

> ὧν ὄφελον τριτάτην περ ἔχων ἐν δώμασι μοῖραν
> c ναίειν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες σόοι ἔμμεναι οἳ τότ' ὄλοντο
> Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ ἑκὰς Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο.

τίς ἂν οὖν τῶν ἐκγόνων ἐκείνων τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου τεθνηκότων οὐκ ἂν κατ' ἀξίαν[2] δόξειεν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ στερήσει τοῦ πατρὸς λύπην τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχαρίστῳ μνήμῃ διορθουμένην; ὅπως δὲ μὴ δόξῃ κοινὸς εἶναι πρὸς πάντας τοὺς παραπλησίως αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐνδεδειγμένους, ἐπήνεγκεν·

> τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι ἀχνύμενός περ,
> d ὡς ἑνὸς ὅστε μοι ὕπνον ἀπεχθαίρει καὶ ἐδωδήν.

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[1] αὐτά Kaibel: αὐτόν AC.

[2] κατ' ἀξίαν Kaibel: ἀνταξίαν A: ἀταξίαν C.

But enough of this. We must return to the symposium, in which Homer has skilfully found occasion in his story to compare the possessions of one who was dear to him.[a] For Menelaus does not propound it as a question for debate, but with charming insinuation, after he has listened to their praises, he at first does not deny that he is rich; but then, divesting his words of any invidiousness,[b] he says that he holds his possessions "after undergoing many sufferings." Nevertheless he does not presume to compare himself with gods: "For *his* (Zeus's) halls and rich possessions are deathless." And after displaying his character, as one who loved his brother, and avowing that it was through fate[c] that he was still alive and enjoying his wealth, he has, by way of contrast, introduced this word of loving friendship: "Would that I dwelt in my halls with but a third portion of this wealth, and that the heroes were safe and sound who perished at that time in wide Troy-land, far from Argos, the pasture-ground of horses."[d] Who, therefore, among the descendants of those who had died for such a man as that, would not regard the grief which they felt for their father's loss as recompensed by this grateful mention of their father? But in order that it might not seem that he cherished the same feeling for all those who had alike displayed good will towards him, he added: "For all these men I mourn not so much, grieved though I am, as I mourn for him,[e] the one who causes sleep and food to be loathsome to

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[a] with those of Zeus.

[b] lit. "envy," *i.e.* of the gods.

[c] lit. "necessity." This, as Wilamowitz points out, seems to refer to a verse (*Od.* iv. 93 a) rejected by the scholiast as absurd: *οὐδέ τι βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.*

[d] *Od.* iv. 97.

[e] Odysseus.

ἵνα δὲ μὴ φαίνηται μηδενὸς τῶν ἐκείνου παραμελῶν ἐμνήσθη κατ᾽ ὄνομα·

> ὀδύρονται νύ που αὐτὸν
> Λαέρτης θ᾽ ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐχέφρων Πηνελόπεια
> Τηλέμαχός θ᾽, ὃν ἔλειπε νέον γεγαῶτ᾽ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

τοῦ δὲ δακρύσαντος πρὸς τὴν μνήμην ὁ μὲν ἐφίστησι
κἀν τοσούτῳ . . . τῇ[1] τῆς Ἑλένης ἐπεισόδῳ
e κἀκείνης ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τεκμηραμένης—πάνυ
γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες διὰ τὸ παρατηρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλλήλων
σωφροσύνην δειναὶ τὰς ὁμοιότητας τῶν παίδων
πρὸς τοὺς γονέας ἐλέγξαι—παρεμβάλλοντός τινα
λόγον καὶ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου—χρὴ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον
μὴ παρεῖναι δορυφορήματος τρόπον—καὶ
διαλεχθέντος εὐσχημόνως περὶ τῆς αἰδοῦς τοῦ
Τηλεμάχου, πάλιν ἐπιβάλλει ὁ Μενέλαος περὶ τῆς
τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως φιλίας ὅτι μετὰ μόνου καταγηράναι
f μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἤθελεν ἐκείνου.[2] κατὰ δὲ τὸ
εἰκὸς οἱ μὲν δακρύουσιν, ἡ δ᾽ Ἑλένη Διὸς οὖσα
θυγάτηρ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σοφῶν μεμαθηκυῖα
πολλοὺς λόγους εἰς τὸν οἶνον ἐμβάλλει πανακὲς
τῷ ὄντι φάρμακον καὶ ἄρχεται διηγεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ
τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως μεταξὺ ταλασιουργίας ἁπτομένη,
οὐ δι᾽ ἀρέσκειαν τοῦτο πράττουσα, ἀλλ᾽ οἴκοθεν
191 ἔχουσα τὴν τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. ἡ γοῦν Ἀφροδίτη
ἐρχομένη πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὸ μονομάχιον εἰκάζεται·

> γρηῒ δέ μιν εἰκυῖα παλαιγενέι προσέειπεν
> εἰροκόμῳ, ἥ οἱ Λακεδαίμονι ναιεταούσῃ
> ἤσκειν εἴρια καλά.

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[1] Lacuna marked by Wilamowitz: τῇ added by Kaibel.
[2] ἐκείνου Schweighäuser: μετ᾽ ἐκείνου AC.

me."[a] And that it may not appear that he forgets anyone related to him[b] he has mentioned them by name: "For him then, I ween, grieve the aged Laertes, and prudent Penelope, and Telemachus, whom he left a new-born child in his house."[c] When Telemachus burst into tears at the mention, Menelaus notices him and at that moment . . .[d] with the entrance of Helen; and she guessed who Telemachus was from family likeness. For women, because of their habit of keeping an eye on each other's honour, are very keen at detecting the points of resemblance which children have with their parents. There follows a speech interjected by Peisistratus, since he must not be in the scene as a mere bodyguard, and after he has talked becomingly about Telemachus's modesty, once more Menelaus makes mention of his love for Odysseus, saying that of all things he would have liked most to grow old in company with Odysseus alone. Naturally they weep; but Helen, being a daughter of Zeus, and having learned many counsels from the wise men of Egypt, puts into the wine a drug which is veritably all-healing, and begins a narrative of her experiences with Odysseus while her hand is engaged in spinning, a pursuit which she followed not for pleasure, but because she had formed the habit at home. At any rate, Aphrodite comes before her after the duel,[e] assuming a disguise: "She spake to her, likening herself to an aged crone who cards the wool, and who was wont to prepare for her the fine wool in populous Lacedaemon." And

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[a] *Od.* iv. 104.
[b] Odysseus.
[c] *Od.* iv. 110.
[d] The text is defective; perhaps, "he recovered himself."
[e] *Il.* iii. 386.

ἐμφανίζεται δ' αὐτῆς οὐ παρέργως τὸ φίλεργον κἀκ τούτων·

τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἅμ' Ἀδρήστη κλισίην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκεν·
Ἀλκίππη δὲ τάπητα φέρεν μαλακοῦ ἐρίοιο,
b Φυλὼ δ' ἀργύρεον τάλαρον φέρε, τόν οἱ ἔδωκεν
Ἀλκάνδρη, Πολύβοιο δάμαρ.

τόν ῥά οἱ ἀμφίπολος Φυλὼ παρέθηκε φέρουσα
νήματος ἀσκητοῖο βεβυσμένον· αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
ἠλακάτη τετάνυστο ἰοδνεφὲς εἶρος ἔχουσα.

ἔοικε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν ἑαυτῆς καλλιτεχνίαν συνορᾶν. τῷ γοῦν Τηλεμάχῳ πέπλον τινὰ δωρουμένη φησί·

c δῶρόν τοι καὶ ἐγώ, τέκνον φίλε, τοῦτο δίδωμι,
μνῆμ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν, πολυηράτου ἐς γάμου ὥρην,
σῇ δ' ἀλόχῳ φορέειν.

αὕτη δ' ἡ φιλεργία τὴν σωφροσύνην αὐτῆς καταμηνύει· οὐ χλιδῶσα γὰρ οὐδὲ θρυπτομένη διὰ τὸ κάλλος εἰσάγεται. εὑρίσκεται γοῦν περὶ ἱστὸν ὑφαίνουσα καὶ ποικίλλουσα·

τὴν δ' εὗρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε,
d δίπλακα μαρμαρέην· πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
οὓς ἕθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρηος παλαμάων.

Διδάσκει δ' ἡμᾶς Ὅμηρος ὅτι δεῖ καὶ τοὺς κεκλημένους ἐφ' ἑστίασιν παρακαλεῖν ἀπανίστασθαι τοὺς κεκληκότας. ὁ μὲν Τηλέμαχος τὸν Μενέλαον·

e ἀλλ' ἄγετ' εἰς εὐνὴν τράπεθ' ἡμέας, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη
ὕπνῳ ὕπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες.

ἡ δὲ προσποιουμένη Μέντωρ εἶναι Ἀθηνᾶ πρὸς τὸν Νέστορα·

Helen's industry is made plain by no mere incident in these lines[a] also: "For her also, at the same time, Adraste set a well-wrought stool; and Alcippe brought a rug of soft wool, Phylo brought a silver wool-basket, which Alcandre, wife of Polybus, had given her." "This, then, her handmaid Phylo brought and placed beside her, overflowing with carded fibres; and in it lay her distaff, holding the violet-dark wool."[b] And it is also likely that she herself was aware of her own skill in handiwork. At any rate, when she presents Telemachus with a robe she says[c]: "This present even I, dear child, offer you, as a memorial of Helen's handiwork, against the season of your longed-for marriage, and for your wife to wear." And this industry reveals the discreetness of her character; for she is not represented as a woman who exults and gives herself airs because of her beauty. She is discovered, at any rate, weaving at the loom and working in many designs: "Her he found in the hall; and she was weaving, at a tall loom, a glistening mantle of double folds; and many contests she patterned therein, of horse-taming Trojans and bronze-coated Achaeans, which they were encountering for her sake at the hands of Ares."[d]

Homer teaches us, too, that guests who have been invited to a banquet should request permission of their hosts to rise and depart. Telemachus says[e] to Menelaus: "But come, direct us now to our beds, that we may forthwith lie down and delight ourselves in sweet sleep." And Athena, who pretends to be Mentor, says to Nestor[f]: "But come,

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[a] *Od.* iv. 123.
[b] *ibid.* 133 ff.
[c] *Od.* xv. 125.
[d] *Il.* iii. 125.
[e] *Od.* iv. 294.
[f] *Od.* iii. 332.

ἀλλ' ἄγε τάμνετε μὲν γλώσσας, κεράσασθε δὲ οἶνον,
ὄφρα Ποσειδάωνι καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν
σπείσαντες κοίτοιο μεδώμεθα· τοῖο γὰρ ὥρη.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἑορταῖς οὐδ' ὅσιον εἶναι δοκεῖ πλείω χρόνον παραμένειν. γνωμικῶς γοῦν φησιν παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·

ἤδη γὰρ φάος οἴχεθ' ὑπὸ ζόφον, οὐδὲ ἔοικε
δηθὰ θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαασσέμεν, ἀλλὰ νέεσθαι.

καὶ νῦν δὴ νόμος ἐκ θυσιῶν τινων πρὸ ἡλίου f δύνοντος ἀπιέναι. καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν σωφρονικῶς διεξήγετο τὸ τῶν συμποσίων γένος, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ περὶ τούτων γεγραφώς. καθήμενοι μὲν γὰρ ἐδείπνουν, τροφῇ τῇ λιτοτάτῃ καὶ ὑγιεινοτάτῃ χρώμενοι καὶ οἴνῳ τοσούτῳ ὅσος ἱκανὸς ἂν γένοιτο πρὸς εὐθυμίαν, ἣν ὁ Πίνδαρος αἰτεῖται παρὰ τοῦ Διός·

τί ἕρδων φίλος
σοί τε, καρτερόβροντα
Κρονίδα, φίλος δὲ Μοίσαις
Εὐθυμίᾳ τε μέλων[1] εἴην,
τοῦτ' αἴτημί σε.

192 τὸ δὲ Πλάτωνος συμπόσιον οὐ συνέδριόν ἐστιν, οὐ βουλευτήριον, οὐ λέσχη φιλοσόφων. Σωκράτης γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ἀποστῆναι θέλει καίτοι Ἐρυξιμάχου καὶ Φαίδρου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀποστάντων, ἀλλ' ἐγρήγορε μετ' Ἀγάθωνος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ πίνει ἐξ ἀργυροῦ φρέατος— καλῶς γάρ τις τὰ μεγάλα ποτήρια οὕτως ὠνόμασε

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[1] μέλων Casaubon: μελῶν AC.

cut out the tongues,[a] and let the wine be mixed, that we may pour libations to Poseidon and the other immortals and bethink us of rest; for it is the season for it." At the festivals of the gods it is held to be not even pious to remain too long. At any rate Athena in Homer says sententiously[b]: "For by this time the light has sunk beneath the west, and it is not seemly to sit long at the feast of the gods, but rather to go home." And so even to-day it is customary to depart from some festivals before sunset. Among Egyptians, also, every kind of symposium was conducted with moderation in ancient times, as Apollonius, who has written on this subject, says. For they sat as they dined, making use of the simplest and most healthful food, and drinking only so much wine as would be sufficient to promote good cheer, which Pindar[c] prays Zeus to send: "What shall I do that I may be dear in thy eyes, thou of the mighty thunder, son of Cronus—dear to the Muses, too, and marked by the spirit of good cheer—for this I pray thee." Plato's symposium is not a session or council-chamber, nor a debating-hall[d] of philosophers. For Socrates does not even want to leave the symposium, though Eryximachus and Phaedrus and some others have already gone, but stays awake with Agathon and Aristophanes and drinks out of a silver "well"—for someone[e] has appropriately given this name to the larger cups—

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[a] The final offering cut from the victim.
[b] *Od.* iii. 335.
[c] *P.L.G.*^{6} frag. 155.
[d] λέσχη was properly a place to lie down or lounge in, such as a blacksmith's shop, where villagers assembled to gossip in winter. Later it meant "club."
[e] Chamaeleon, in Athen. 461 c.

—πίνει τ᾽ ἐκ τῆς φιάλης ἐπιδέξια. φησὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν δύο νυστάζειν, καταδαρθεῖν δὲ πρότερον τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη, ἤδη δὲ ἡμέρας b ὑποφαινούσης τὸν Ἀγάθωνα· καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη κατακοιμήσαντα ἐκείνους ἀναστάντα ἀπιέναι εἰς τὸ Λύκειον, ἐξόν, φησὶν ὁ Ἡρόδικος, εἰς τοὺς Ὁμήρου Λαιστρυγόνας,

> ἔνθα κ᾽ ἄυπνος ἀνὴρ δοιοὺς ἐξήρατο μισθούς.

Πᾶσα δὲ συμποσίου συναγωγὴ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε, καὶ στεφάνοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς. καὶ δοῦλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ διακονήσων, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐλευθέρων ᾠνοχόουν, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Μενελάου υἱὸς καίτοι νυμφίος ὑπάρχων καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς c γάμοις. παρὰ δὲ τῇ καλῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς οἰνοχοεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ τἄλλα δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαζον τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ οἱ δειπνήσαντες ἀπελύοντο φωτὸς ὄντος. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν συμποσίων ἐγίνοντό τινες καὶ βουλαί, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκινόου συμπόσιον, πρὸς ὃ ἀποτέταται ὁ[1] τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως λόγος·

> οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
> d ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα,
> δαιτυμόνες δ᾽ ἀνὰ δώματ᾽ ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ,

ξένου ὑποδοχὴν ἔχει, ὄντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Φαιάκων τρυφερῶν. ὅπερ συμβάλλων τις πρὸς

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[1] ὁ added here by Kaibel: Ὀδυσσέως ὁ Musurus.

and he also drinks out of a shallow cup, in a round from left to right.[a] He says further that after this the other two began to doze, but Aristophanes fell asleep first, while Agathon did not drop off until daylight began to show; and then Socrates put them to bed, and rising up departed to the Lyceum, although, as Herodicus says, he might better have gone to Homer's Laestrygones,[b] "where a sleepless man could have earned double wages."

Every gathering among the ancients to celebrate a symposium acknowledged the god as the occasion for it, and made use of chaplets appropriate to the gods as well as hymns and songs. And there was no slave to serve them, but young men, sons of free men, were the cup-bearers, as for example the son of Menelaus, who was cup-bearer, even though he was bridegroom, at the very wedding-feast itself. And in the fair Sappho[c] even Hermes is cup-bearer to the gods. In fact, free-born men made ready all other things needful for the diners, and those who had dined separated while it was daylight. In some Persian symposia there also occurred debates,[d] as in Agamemnon's during the campaign. The symposium of Alcinous, to which the speech of Odysseus refers[e]: "I say, for my part, that there is no issue more delightful than when good cheer possesses the whole house, and feasters in the halls listen to the minstrel," admits the welcome to a stranger, since the Phaeacians were of themselves lovers of luxury. If now, one compares it with the

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[a] *Cf.* 463 f, 152 d note a; Plat. *Symp.* 223 c.

[b] *Od.* x. 84. On Herodicus see 188 f, note *c*.

[c] *P.L.G.*⁴ frag. 51, Athen. 425 c.

[d] The text is defective. *Cf.* 144 a.

[e] *Od.* ix. 5.

τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων συμπόσια κοσμιώτερον ἂν εὕροι, καίτοι τοῦτο περιέχον καὶ ἱλαρότητα καὶ παιδιὰν εὐσχήμονα. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν γυμνικὸν ᾄδει ὁ ᾠδὸς “ἀμφ’ Ἄρεος φιλότητα” μῦθόν τινα χλεύῃ κεκραμένον, καίτοι εἰς τὴν μνηστηροφονίαν ὑποθηκῶν ὑποτιθεμένων τῷ
e Ὀδυσσεῖ, ὡς[1] καὶ τοῦ Κυλλοποδίωνος τὸν ἀνδρειότατον Ἄρη καταγωνισαμένου.

Ἐκαθέζοντο δὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες οἱ τότε. πολλαχοῦ γοῦν ὁ Ὅμηρός φησιν·

ἑξείης ἕζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε.

ὁ γὰρ θρόνος αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλευθέριός ἐστιν καθέδρα σὺν ὑποποδίῳ, ὅπερ θρῆνυν καλοῦντες ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν ὠνόμασαν θρόνον τοῦ θρήσασθαι χάριν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθέζεσθαι τάσσουσιν, ὡς Φιλίτας·

θρήσασθαι[2] πλατάνῳ λασίῃ[3] ὕπο.

f ὁ δὲ κλισμὸς περιττοτέρως κεκόσμηται ἀνακλίσει. τούτων δ’ εὐτελέστερος ἦν ὁ δίφρος· τῷ γοῦν Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐπαίτῃ εἶναι δοκοῦντι “δίφρον ἀεικέλιον, φησί, καταθεὶς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν.”

Οἱ δὲ κρατῆρες αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔχει καὶ τοὔνομα, κεκραμένοι παρεστήκεσαν, ἐξ ὧν οἱ κοῦροι διακονούμενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐντιμοτάτοις ἀεὶ πλήρες παρεῖχον τὸ ποτήριον, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου διένεμον. ὁ γοῦν Ἀγαμέμνων πρὸς τὸν Ἰδομενέα φησί·

193 σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἰεὶ
ἕστηχ’ ὥσπερ ἐμοί, πιέειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι.

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[1] After ὡς A (not C) has τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ, bracketed by Kaibel: but καὶ is needed.

[2] After θρήσασθαι A has δὲ, deleted by Musurus.

symposia of the philosophers, he will find it more decorous, though it includes mirth and joking, but in good taste. For after the gymnastic contest the minstrel sings[a] "of the amours of Ares," a story full of satire, while it gives hints to Odysseus for the slaughter of the suitors, in that even the Lame-footed[b] could overcome in a contest the most valiant Ares.

The men of those days also sat when they dined. Homer, at any rate, says[c] in many places, "They sat them down in order, upon chairs and thrones." Now the throne, taken by itself alone, is the chair of a man of high birth; it has a footstool, which they called *thrênys*, and they formed the word "throne" from the verb *thrô*, which they use of sitting down, as Philitas[d]: "To sit (*thrân*) beneath the lush plane-tree." The chair (*klismos*), on the other hand, is provided more sumptuously with an inclined back. Poorer than either of these was the stool (*diphros*); in the case of Odysseus, anyway, coming in the guise of a beggar, the poet says[e] that Telemachus "placed before him a mean stool and a small table."

Their mixing-bowls, as indeed the name implies, stood before them filled with diluted wine; from these the young men who served offered the drinking-cup, which in the case of the most highly honoured was always full; while to the others they distributed the wine in equal portions. Agamemnon, at any rate, says to Idomeneus[f]: "But thy cup stands ever full, even as mine, to quaff whenever thy heart

[a] *Od.* viii. 267.
[b] Hephaestus.
[c] *Od.* i. 145.
[d] Frag. 22 Diehl.
[e] *Od.* xx. 259.
[f] *Il.* iv. 262.

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[1] λασίῃ Heinrich (*cf. Anth. Pal.* xvi. 227): γαίῃ A.

προέπινον δ' ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς (τοῦτο γὰρ προεκπιεῖν ἐστιν), ἀλλὰ μεστὸν τὸν σκύφον·

πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλῆα.

ὁσάκις δὲ καὶ τροφὰς ἐλάμβανον, προειρήκαμεν ἤδη ὅτι δὴ τρεῖς ἦσαν διὰ τὸ τὸ αὐτό ποτε μὲν ἄριστον, ποτὲ δὲ δεῖπνον ὀνομάζεσθαι. γελοῖοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ φάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ τέσσαρας ἐλάμβανον ἐπεὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη "σὺ δ' ἔρχεο δειελιήσας," οὐ νοοῦντες ὅτι λέγει τὸν δειλινὸν διατρίψας b χρόνον. ὅμως δὲ οὐδεὶς δείξει παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τρίς τινα λαμβάνοντα τροφάς. διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐφεξῆς τιθέντες τούτους τοὺς στίχους·

σῖτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
εἴδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων·
δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν ἀείρας.

εἰ γὰρ εἴδατα παρέθηκεν ἡ ταμίη, δῆλον ὡς κρεάτων λείψανα τυγχάνοντα, τὸν δαιτρὸν οὐκ ἔδει παρεισφέρειν. διόπερ τὸ δίστιχον ἀπαρκεῖ. ἀπαλλαγέντων δὲ τῶν δειπνούντων αἱ τράπεζαι ἐβαστάζοντο, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς μνηστῆρσι καὶ τοῖς Φαίαξιν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ λέγει·

c ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἀπεκόσμεον ἔντεα δαιτός,

δῆλον ὡς τὰ ἀγγεῖα. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων τὰ σκεπαστικά, θώρακα καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐμφερῆ λέγουσιν ἔντη, καθάπερ ἀγγεῖα[1] τῶν τοῦ

[1] ἀγγεῖα Dindorf (*cf.* Apoll. Soph. 69. 17): αἴτια A.

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[a] So that they sipped, but did not drain; *Il.* ix. 224.
[b] 11 b ff.

bids thee." They toasted one another not as we do—for our method in a toast is to drain to the dregs—but with the cup full[a]: "And filling the cup with wine he pledged Achilles." How many times a day they took meals has already been explained[b]; we said that there were three (and not four), because the same meal is sometimes called luncheon, sometimes dinner. Those who assert that they took four meals merely because the poet said[c]: "Come you now after taking the afternoon meal" are absurd; they do not observe that he means "after waiting through the afternoon." Nevertheless, nobody will ever point to an instance in Homer where anyone takes food three times in the day. Many indeed are mistaken when they place the following verses in sequence in the poet's text[d]: "The grave housekeeper brought food and set it beside them, adding many viands which she lavished from her store. And the carver lifted and set beside them platters of meat." Now if the housekeeper set "viands" beside them, it is plain that they must have been chance bits of meat left over, and there would be no need to introduce a carver. Hence the two verses are sufficient alone. When the diners had departed the tables were carried away, as in the case of the suitors and the Phaeacians, of whom the poet says[e]: "And the handmaids cleared away the implements (*entea*) of the feast," meaning the vessels. For all implements which afford a covering, like breastplates, greaves, and things similar to them, they call *entea*, being as it were vessels to

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[c] *Od.* xvii. 599; the verb δειελιάω occurs only here. Some said it meant "take an afternoon meal"; others "wait till evening."

[d] *Od.* iv. 55.

[e] *Od.* vii. 232.

σώματος μερῶν ὄντα. τῶν δὲ ἡρωικῶν οἴκων τοὺς μείζονας Ὅμηρος μέγαρα καλεῖ καὶ δώματα καὶ κλισίας, οἱ δὲ νῦν ξενῶνας καὶ ἀνδρῶνας ὀνομάζουσι.[1]

Τί οὖν ὀνομάσομεν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ
d συμπόσιον ὅπερ Ἀντίοχος[2] ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς μὲν κληθείς, Ἐπιμανὴς δ' ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὀνομασθείς; βασιλεὺς δ' ἦν οὗτος τῶν Συριακῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου εἷς· περὶ οὗ φησι Πολύβιος τάδε, ὡς "ἀποδιδράσκων ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐνίοτε τοὺς θεραπεύοντας οὗ τύχοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλύων[3] ἐφαίνετο δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος· μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἀργυροκοπείοις εὑρίσκετο καὶ χρυσοχοείοις εὑρησιλογῶν καὶ φιλοτεχνῶν πρὸς τοὺς τορευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τεχνίτας. ἔπειτα καὶ μετὰ δημοτῶν ἀνθρώπων συγκαταβαίνων ὡμίλει ᾧ τύχοι καὶ μετὰ τῶν
e παρεπιδημούντων συνέπινε τῶν εὐτελεστάτων. ὅτε δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων αἴσθοιτό τινας συνευωχουμένους, οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν ποιήσας παρῆν ἐπικωμάζων μετὰ κερατίου[4] καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀφισταμένους φεύγειν. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐσθῆτα τήβενναν ἀναλαβὼν περιῄει κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀρχαιρεσιάζων καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούμενος, τοὺς

[1] ὀνομάζουσι Casaubon : νομίζουσι A.

[2] ἐποίησεν or συνήγαγεν supplied by Schweighäuser.

[3] ἀλύων Casaubon (*cf.* Diod. xxix. 32) : αὐτῶν A.

[4] κερατίου Diodorus : κεραμείου A.

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[a] Apparently the etymologist connects ἔντεα, Homeric word for "arms," "implements," with ἐντός, "inside."

[b] as though from μέγα, "large."

[c] *Cf.* "lean-to," of a cabin.

[d] See critical note.

[e] *Cf.* 45 c, 124 e.

[f] xxvi. 10.

hold inside them the corresponding parts of the body.[a] The larger rooms in the dwellings of the heroes Homer calls *megara*,[b] also *dômata* (" buildings ") and *klisiae* (" huts ");[c] but men of to-day call them " guest-rooms " and " men's halls."

What, then, dear friends, shall we call the symposium which was given[d] by Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes (" Illustrious "), but because of his acts renamed Epimanes (" Insane ")?[e] He was king of Syria, and one of the Seleucidae. Concerning him Polybius says[f] this: " He would sometimes slip out of the palace without the knowledge of his attendants, and would appear wandering about in some quarter of the city with one or two companions; usually he was found near the shops of the silversmiths and goldsmiths talking glibly, and airing his views on art before the workmen engaged in making reliefs as well as before other artisans. Then he would condescend to men of the common people and converse with anybody, no matter whom, and he used to drink with travellers of the meanest sort who came to town. Whenever he learned that any young men were feasting together, he would appear without any announcement to join in the revel with hornpipe and symphony[g]; the result was that most of the party got up and fled at the unexpected apparition. And often he would lay aside his royal robes, and putting on a toga he would walk up and down the market-place[h] as though he were canvassing for votes; with some he shook

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[g] An unknown instrument; in Prudentius the word refers to the Egyptian sistrum, an instrument used in orgiastic worship, something like the triangle of a modern orchestra.

[h] or " forum."

δὲ καὶ περιπτύσσων παρεκάλει φέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν
ψῆφον, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀγορανόμος γένηται, ποτὲ δὲ
f καὶ ὡς δήμαρχος. τυχὼν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ
καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον κατὰ τὸ
παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος διήκουε τῶν κατὰ τὴν
ἀγορὰν γινομένων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ διέκρινε
μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἐξ ὧν εἰς
ἀπορίαν ἦγε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς· οἱ
μὲν γὰρ ἀφελῆ τινα αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπελάμβανον, οἱ
δὲ μαινόμενον. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἦν
194 παραπλήσιος· ἐδίδου γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἀστραγάλους
δορκαδείους, τοῖς δὲ φοινικοβαλάνους, ἄλλοις δὲ
χρυσίον. καὶ ἐξ ἀπαντήσεως δέ τισι συντυγχάνων
οὓς μὴ ἑωράκει ποτὲ ἐδίδου δωρεὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους.
ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις εὐνοίαις[1]
καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε
τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας. τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις
τεκμήραιτο ἔκ τε τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ὀλυμπιείου
καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν ἀνδριάντων.
ἐλούετο δὲ κἀν τοῖς δημοσίοις βαλανείοις ὅτε
b δημοτῶν ἦν τὰ βαλανεῖα πεπληρωμένα, κεραμίων
εἰσφερομένων αὐτῷ μύρων τῶν πολυτελεστάτων.
ὅτε καί τινος εἰπόντος "μακάριοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ
βασιλεῖς οἱ καὶ τούτοις χρώμενοι καὶ ὀδωδότες
ἡδύ," μηδὲν[2] τὸν ἄνθρωπον προσειπὼν ὅπου
'κεῖνος τῇ ἑξῆς ἐλούετο ἐπεισελθὼν ἐποίησεν
αὐτοῦ καταχυθῆναι τῆς κεφαλῆς μέγιστον κεράμιον
πολυτελεστάτου μύρου τῆς στακτῆς καλουμένης,
ὡς πάντας ἀναστάντας κυλίεσθαι λουομένους τῷ

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[1] εὐνοίαις Lumb: εὐεργεσίαις Kaibel: θυσίαις A.

hands, while others he embraced and invited to cast their vote for him, sometimes for the office of aedile, sometimes for that of tribune of the people. And having won the office, he would seat himself on the ivory [a] chair, according to the Roman custom; he would hear cases involving contracts in the market, and would give decisions with great earnestness and zeal. As a result he would reduce decent men to perplexity; for some supposed that he was just an artless person, while others thought him mad. And he was like that also in giving presents; for to some he would give dice made from gazelles' bones, to others dates, to others again money in gold. On occasion, also, meeting persons whom he had never seen, he would give them unexpected presents. In benefactions to cities and in honours paid to the gods he outdid all who had ever been kings before him. One might draw this conclusion merely from the Olympieium at Athens and the statues round the altar in Delos. He used also to bathe in the public baths when the baths were crowded with common people, having jars of the most costly scented oils brought in for his use. On one occasion a man said to him, "Happy are you kings, who can use these perfumes and smell so sweet!" Without answering the fellow he came in next day where the man was bathing, and caused a very large jar of most costly scented oil, the kind which is called *stacta*,[b] to be poured over the man's head; the result was that all, after standing up, rolled about

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[a] or "curule."

[b] Oil that "trickles" (without pressing) from fresh myrrh or cinnamon; *cf.* 691 d.

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[2] μηδὲν C: καὶ μηδὲν A.

μύρῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν γλισχρότητα καταπίπτοντας
c γέλωτα παρέχειν, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα.’’

Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ
Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου
Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ, βουλόμενος
τῇ μεγαλοεργίᾳ[1] ὑπερᾶραι τὸν Παῦλον ἐξέπεμψε
πρέσβεις καὶ θεωροὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις
καταγγελοῦντας τοὺς ἐσομένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ Δάφνης· ὡς πολλὴν γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν. ἀρχὴν δ’ ἐποιήσατο
τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πομπείαν οὕτως
d ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαν. καθηγοῦντό τινες Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔχοντες
καθοπλισμὸν ἐν θώραξιν ἁλυσιδωτοῖς, ἄνδρες
ἀκμάζοντες ταῖς ἡλικίαις πεντακισχίλιοι· μεθ’ οὓς
Μυσοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. συνεχεῖς δ’ ἦσαν Κίλικες
εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐζώνων τρόπον καθωπλισμένοι τρισχίλιοι,
χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες στεφάνους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις
Θρᾷκες τρισχίλιοι καὶ Γαλάται πεντακισχίλιοι.
τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον Μακεδόνες δισμύριοι, χρυσάσπιδες
μὲν μύριοι[2] καὶ χαλκάσπιδες πεντακισχίλιοι,
οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι[3] ἀργυράσπιδες· οἷς ἐπηκολούθει
e μονομάχων ζεύγη διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα. τούτων
κατόπιν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς Νισαῖοι[4] μὲν χίλιοι, πολιτικοὶ
δὲ τρισχίλιοι, ὧν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν χρυσοφάλαροι
καὶ χρυσοστέφανοι, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἀργυροφάλαροι.
μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι ἑταῖροι
ἱππεῖς· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εἰς χιλίους, πάντες χρυσοφάλαροι.
τούτοις συνεχὲς ἦν τὸ τῶν φίλων σύνταγμα,
ἴσον καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον.

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[1] μεγαλοεργίᾳ CA (adding δωρεᾷ): μεγαλοδωρεᾷ Casaubon.

[2] χρυσάσπιδες μὲν μύριοι added by Kaibel.

[3] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Kaibel: ἄλλοι δὲ A.

bathed in the oil, and roused laughter by sprawling on the slippery floor, as even the king himself did."

This same king,[a] hearing about the games instituted in Macedonia by Aemilius Paulus, the Roman general, and wishing to outdo Paulus in magnificence, dispatched envoys and delegates[b] to the cities to proclaim the games which were to be given by him near Daphne; hence great interest arose on the part of the Greeks in meeting him. As a beginning to the meeting he got up a parade which was carried out in the following manner. It was led by certain men in the prime of their youth, five thousand in number, who wore Roman armour of chain-mail; after them came five thousand Mysians; close to these were three thousand Cilicians equipped in the fashion of light-armed troops, and wearing gold crowns. After these came three thousand Thracians and five thousand Celts. These were followed by twenty thousand Macedonians, ten thousand of them with gold shields, five thousand with bronze shields, and the rest with silver shields; close upon these came two hundred and forty pairs of gladiators. Behind them were one thousand Nisaean horsemen and three thousand citizen soldiers, of whom the majority wore gold cheek-coverings and gold crowns, the rest had cheek-coverings of silver. After them came the so-called "mounted companions"; there were about a thousand of these, all with gold cheek-pieces. Next to these was the division made up of his friends, equal in numbers and

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[a] Polybius, xxxi. 3. The citation extends to 195 f.

[b] The word θεωρός always refers to a mission sent to represent a state at a sacred festival.

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[1] Νισαῖοι Casaubon: πισαῖοι AC.

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐπίλεκτοι χίλιοι, οἷς ἐπηκολούθει τὸ
καλούμενον ἄγημα, κράτιστον εἶναι δοκοῦν σύστημα
f τῶν ἱππέων, περὶ χιλίους. τελευταία δ' ἦν ἡ
κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οἰκείως τῇ προσηγορία τῶν
ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσκεπασμένων τοῖς ὅπλοις·
ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. πάντες
δ' οἱ προειρημένοι εἶχον πορφυρᾶς ἐφαπτίδας,
πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαχρύσους καὶ ζῳωτάς. ἐπὶ δὲ
τούτοις ἕξιππα μὲν ἦν ἑκατόν, τέθριππα δὲ τεσσαράκοντα·
ἔπειτα ἐλεφάντων ἅρμα καὶ συνωρίς·
195 καθ' ἕνα δὲ εἵποντο ἐλέφαντες διεσκευασμένοι
τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ.

Τὴν δ' ἄλλην πομπὴν λέγειν ἐστὶ δυσέφικτον,
ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ λεκτέον. ἔφηβοι μὲν γὰρ
ἐπόμπευσαν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες
στεφάνους, βόες δ' εὐτραφεῖς περὶ χιλίους, θεωρίδες[1]
δὲ βραχὺ λείπουσαι τριακοσίων, ἐλεφάντων
δὲ ὀδόντες ὀκτακόσιοι. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων
πλῆθος οὐ δυνατὸν ἐξηγήσασθαι· πάντων γὰρ τῶν
παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ
δαιμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἴδωλα διήγετο, τὰ
μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἠμφιεσμένα στολαῖς
διαχρύσοις. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες
μῦθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας ἐν διασκευαῖς
b πολυτελέσι παρέκειντο. εἵπετο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
Νυκτὸς εἴδωλον καὶ Ἡμέρας, Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ Ἠοῦς καὶ Μεσημβρίας. τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων
καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος οὕτως ἄν τις

[1] *θεωρίδες* Casaubon: *θεωρία* AC: *θεωρίαι* ("religious delegations") Schweighäuser.

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[a] *ἄγημα* is an old military word meaning "division."

in beauty of equipment. After them were a thousand picked men, followed by the so-called *Agema* ("Guard"),[a] which has the reputation of being the best organization of horsemen, numbering about a thousand. Last of all was the armoured cavalry, both horses and men being completely covered with armour in accordance with their name. They numbered alone one thousand five hundred. And all these mentioned wore purple cloaks, many also cloaks woven with gold and embroidered with figures. After them were a hundred chariots drawn by six horses, and forty drawn by four horses; next a chariot drawn by four elephants, and another by a pair of elephants; and in single file followed thirty-six caparisoned elephants.

It would be difficult to pursue the description of the rest of the procession, and it must be described summarily. Young men who had just come of age, to the number of eight hundred, and wearing gold crowns, marched in the line; fatted oxen, about one thousand; sacrificial tables,[b] little short of three hundred; elephants' tusks, eight hundred. It is not possible to enumerate the quantity of sacred images; for statues of all beings who are said or held to be gods, demigods, or even heroes among mankind were borne along, some gilded, others draped in garments of gold thread. And beside all of them lay the sacred myths pertaining to each, according to the traditional accounts, in sumptuous editions. They were followed by representations of Night and Day, Earth and Heaven, and Dawn and Noon. One might guess how great was the number of gold and silver vessels in the following

[b] See critical note.

ὑπονοήσειεν ὅσον ἦν· ἑνὸς γὰρ τῶν φίλων Διονυσίου
τοῦ ἐπιστολιαγράφου[1] χίλιοι παῖδες ἐπόμπευσαν
ἀργυρώματα ἔχοντες, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον᾽ ὁλκὴν
εἶχεν δραχμῶν χιλίων. βασιλικοὶ δὲ παῖδες παρῆλθον
ἑξακόσιοι χρυσώματα ἔχοντες. ἔπειτα γυναῖκες
ἐκ χρυσῶν καλπίδων μύροις ἔρραινον εἰς
c διακοσίας. ταύταις δ᾽ ἑξῆς ἐπόμπευον ἐν χρυσόποσι
μὲν φορείοις ὀγδοήκοντα γυναῖκες, ἐν[2] ἀργυρόποσι
δὲ πεντακόσιαι καθήμεναι, πολυτελῶς διεσκευασμέναι.
καὶ τῆς μὲν πομπῆς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα
ταῦτα ἦν. ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων
καὶ μονομαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων κατὰ τριάκονθ᾽
ἡμέρας· ἐν αἷς τὰς θέας συνετέλει, πέντε μὲν τὰς
πρώτας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντες ἐκ χρυσῶν ὁλκείων
d ἠλείφοντο κροκίνῳ μύρῳ· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα πεντεκαίδεκα,
καὶ κινναμωμίνου τὰ ἴσα καὶ ναρδίνου.
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑξῆς εἰσεφέρετο τήλινον,
ἀμαράκινον, ἴρινον, πάντα διαφέροντα ταῖς εὐωδίαις.
ἔστρωτο δὲ εἰς εὐωχίαν ποτὲ μὲν χίλια
τρίκλινα, ποτὲ δὲ χίλια πεντακόσια μετὰ τῆς
πολυτελεστάτης διασκευῆς. ὁ δὲ χειρισμὸς ἐγίνετο
τῶν πραγμάτων δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.
ἵππον γὰρ ἔχων εὐτελῆ παρέτρεχε παρὰ τὴν
πομπήν, τοὺς μὲν προάγειν κελεύων, τοὺς δὲ
e ἐπέχειν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πότους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς
εἰσόδους ἐφιστάμενος οὓς μὲν εἰσῆγεν,[3] οὓς δ᾽
ἀνέκλινε, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους δὲ τοὺς τὰς παραθέσεις
φέροντας αὐτὸς εἰσῆγε. καὶ περιπορευόμενος
οὗ μὲν προσεκάθιζεν, οὗ δὲ προσανέπιπτε· καί

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[1] ἐπιστολιαγράφου Schweighäuser : ἐπιστολαγράφου A.

[2] ἐν added by Meineke.

[3] εἰσῆγεν 439 c : εἰσήγαγε A : διέταττεν Diod. xxxi. 16. 2.

way: of only one of the king's friends, the secretary Dionysius, one thousand slaves marched in the procession carrying silver vessels, none of which weighed less than a thousand drachms.[a] Then came six hundred royal slaves with gold vessels. After them nearly two hundred women sprinkled scented oil from gold pitchers. Close upon these in the procession were eighty women seated in litters having gold supports, and five hundred in litters with silver supports, all richly dressed. These were the most conspicuous features of the parade. The games, gladiatorial contests, and hunts took thirty days to conclude; during the first five days in which spectacles were carried out, all persons in the gymnasium anointed themselves with saffron oil from golden basins; these numbered fifteen, and there was an equal number of bowls with oil of cinnamon and nard. Similarly there were brought in, on the succeeding days, oil of fenugreek, marjoram, and orris, all of them rare in their fragrance. For a banquet on one occasion there were spread a thousand triclinia, on another fifteen hundred, with the most extravagant deckings. The management of these matters was undertaken by the king himself. Riding on a poor horse, he ran up and down the procession, commanding one division to advance, another to halt. At the symposia he stood at the entrance introducing some, assigning couches to others, and he himself brought in the servants who carried in the dishes served. And going round he would seat himself in one place, or throw himself down in another.

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[a] About 11½ pounds.

ποτὲ μὲν ἀποθέμενος μεταξὺ τὸν ψωμόν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ποτήριον, ἀνεπήδα καὶ μετανίστατο καὶ περιῄει τὸν πότον προπόσεις λαμβάνων ὀρθὸς ἄλλοτε παρ' ἄλλοις, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων. f προιούσης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη κεχωρισμένων ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρετο ὅλος συγκεκαλυμμένος[1] καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο ὡς εἷς ὢν δῆτα τῶν μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀναπηδήσας γυμνὸς[2] ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν, ὥστε πάντας αἰσχυνομένους φεύγειν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίσατο παρασπονδήσας τὸν Φιλομήτορα βασιλέα παιδίσκον ὄντα, τὰ[3] δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων συμβαλλομένων. ἱεροσυλήκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν.

Θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν δαιτυμόνων τήν τε τοῦ 196 βασιλέως διάνοιαν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιφανής, ἀλλ' ὄντως ἐπιμανὴς ὑπῆρχε,[4] . . . προσέθηκεν ὁ Μασούριος περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γεγενημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως πομπῆς Καλλίξεινον τὸν Ῥόδιον ἱστοροῦντα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὅς φησι· "πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὴν κατασκευασθεῖσαν σκηνὴν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἄκρας περιβόλῳ χωρὶς τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν καὶ παρεπιδήμων ὑποδοχῆς

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[1] *συγκεκαλυμμένος* 439 d: *κεκαλυμμένος* A.

[2] *γυμνὸς* added from Diodorus.

[3] *τὰ* added by Musurus.

[4] Either *τε* in the first line of the paragraph should be deleted, or, assuming the lacuna, we should supply something like *καὶ τὴν τῆς πανηγύρεως μεγαλειότητα* (Meyer), "the magnificence of the celebration."

At one moment he would throw aside a morsel or a cup just as he had put them to his lips, and jumping up suddenly, he would change his place or walk round among the drinkers, receiving toasts standing sometimes by one, sometimes by another, at the same time laughing at the entertainments. When the party had been going on a long time and many had already withdrawn, the king was brought in by the mime-performers entirely wrapped up, and deposited on the ground as though he were one of the performers. When the symphony[a] sounded the challenge, he would leap up and dance naked and act with the clowns, so that every one departed in shame. All these celebrations were paid for partly from funds which he had appropriated in Egypt when he broke his treaty with King Ptolemy Philometor, who was then a lad, and partly from contributions by his friends. He had also plundered most of the temples.

The guests[b] expressed their wonder at the state of the king's mind, judging that he was not illustrious, but really insane,[c] . . . Masurius then added an account of the procession which was arranged in Alexandria by the most excellent king Ptolemy Philadelphus; this is recorded by Callixeinus of Rhodes in the fourth book of his work on Alexandria. He says[d]: "Before I begin I will describe the pavilion which was set up inside the enclosure of the citadel, at a distance from the place where the soldiers, artisans, and tourists were entertained.

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[a] For the musical instrument thus named see 193 e, note g.

[b] At the dinner of Larensis.

[c] *Cf.* 193 d, note. See critical note.

[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 58.

ἐξηγήσομαι· καλὴ γὰρ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀξία τε
b ἀκοῆς ἐγενήθη. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος αὐτῆς ἑκατὸν
τριάκοντα κλίνας ἐπιδεχόμενον κύκλῳ, διασκευὴν
δ' εἶχε[1] τοιαύτην. κίονες διεστάθησαν[2] ξύλινοι
πέντε μὲν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκάστην τοῦ μήκους
πεντηκονταπήχεις πρὸς ὕψος, ἑνὶ δὲ ἐλάττους κατὰ
πλάτος· ἐφ' ὧν ἐπιστύλιον καθηρμόσθη τετράγωνον,
ὑπερεῖδον τὴν σύμπασαν τοῦ συμποσίου στέγην.
αὕτη δ' ἐνεπετάσθη κατὰ μέσον οὐρανίσκῳ κοκκινοβαφεῖ
περιλεύκῳ, καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ μέρος εἶχε
δοκοὺς μεσολεύκοις ἐμπετάσμασι πυργωτοῖς κατειλημένας,[3]
c ἐν αἷς φατνώματα γραπτὰ κατὰ μέσον
ἐτέτακτο. τῶν δὲ κιόνων οἱ μὲν τέσσαρες ὡμοίωντο
φοίνιξιν, οἱ δ' ἀνὰ μέσον θύρσων εἶχον
φαντασίαν. τούτων δ' ἐκτὸς περίστυλος ἐπεποίητο
σῦριγξ ταῖς τρισὶ πλευραῖς καμαρωτὴν ἔχουσα
στέγην, ἐν ᾗ τὴν τῶν κατακειμένων ἀκολουθίαν
ἑστάναι συνέβαινεν. ἧς τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐλαίαις
περιείχετο φοινικίναις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνὰ μέσον
d χωρῶν δοραὶ θηρίων παράδοξοι καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ
καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἐκρέμαντο. τὸ δὲ περιέχον
αὐτὴν ὕπαιθρον μυρρίναις καὶ δάφναις ἄλλοις τε
ἐπιτηδείοις ἔρνεσιν ἐγεγόνει συνηρεφές. τὸ δ'
ἔδαφος πᾶν ἄνθεσι κατεπέπαστο παντοίοις. ἡ γὰρ
Αἴγυπτος καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος
εὐκρασίαν καὶ διὰ τοὺς κηπεύοντας τὰ σπανίως
καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἐνεστηκυῖαν ἐν ἑτέροις φυόμενα
τόποις ἄφθονα γεννᾷ καὶ διὰ παντός, καὶ οὔτε

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[1] δ' εἶχε Schweighäuser: δὲ ἔχει A.

[2] διεστάθησαν Musurus: δ' ἐστάθησαν A.

[3] κατειλημένας Schweighäuser: κατειλημμένας A.

For it proved to be extraordinarily beautiful and well worth hearing about. As for its size, it could hold one hundred and thirty couches in a circle, and its decoration was as follows. Wooden columns were set up at regular intervals, five on each long side, rising fifty cubits in height, but four on each of the other sides[a]; upon these was fitted a square epistyle which held up the entire roof sheltering the symposium. This roof was draped with a circular canopy in scarlet edged with white, covering the middle of it; while on either side it had beams concealed by tapestries with white stripes draped voluminously[b] about them; between the beams were painted panels set in order. Of the columns four[c] were shaped like palm-trees, but those which stood in the middle had the appearance of Bacchic wands. Outside the columns, on three sides, was a portico with a peristyle, having a vaulted roof, and here the retinues of the guests could stand. Inside, the pavilion was surrounded with Phoenician[d] curtains, except that the spaces between columns were hung with the pelts of animals, extraordinary in variety and in size. The outer side of the enclosing curtains, exposed to the air, was roofed with branches of myrtle and laurel and other boughs that were suitable. The floor was entirely strewn with all sorts of flowers. For Egypt, both because of the temperate quality of its atmosphere, and also because its gardeners can grow plants which are either rare or found only at a regular season in other regions, produces flowers in abundance and throughout the whole year,

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[a] lit. "five on each side of longitude—but one less according to latitude."

[b] lit. "tower-fashion."

[c] Those at the corners.

[d] or, "red."

ῥόδον οὔτε λευκόιον οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο ῥᾳδίως ἄνθος ἐκλιπεῖν οὐθὲν οὐδέποτ᾽ εἴωθεν. διὸ δὴ καὶ κατὰ μέσον χειμῶνα τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τότε γενηθείσης
e παράδοξος ἡ φαντασία[1] τοῖς ξένοις κατέστη. τὰ γὰρ εἰς μίαν εὑρεθῆναι στεφάνωσιν οὐκ ἂν δυνηθέντα ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ῥᾳδίως, ταῦτα καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν κατακειμένων ἐχορηγεῖτο[2] εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους ἀφθόνως καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κατεπέπαστο χύδην, θείου τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποτελοῦντα λειμῶνος πρόσοψιν. διέκειτο δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν τῆς σκηνῆς παραστάδων ζῷα μαρμάρινα τῶν πρώτων τεχνιτῶν ἑκατόν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀνὰ μέσον χώραις πίνακες τῶν Σικυωνικῶν ζωγράφων, ἐναλλὰξ δ᾽ ἐπίλεκτοι εἰκασίαι παντοῖαι[3] καὶ χιτῶνες χρυσο-
f υφεῖς ἐφαπτίδες τε κάλλισται, τινὲς μὲν εἰκόνας ἔχουσαι τῶν βασιλέων ἐνυφασμένας, αἱ δὲ μυθικὰς διαθέσεις. ὑπεράνω δὲ τούτων θυρεοὶ περιέκειντο ἐναλλὰξ ἀργυροῖ τε καὶ χρυσοῖ.[4] ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπάνω τούτων χώραις οὔσαις ὀκταπήχεσιν ἄντρα κατεσκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν τὸ μῆκος τῆς σκηνῆς ἓξ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πλευρᾷ, κατὰ πλάτος δὲ τέτταρα· συμπόσιά τε ἀντία ἀλλήλων ἐν[5] αὐτοῖς τραγικῶν τε καὶ
197 κωμικῶν καὶ σατυρικῶν ζῴων ἀληθινὸν ἐχόντων ἱματισμόν, οἷς παρέκειτο καὶ ποτήρια χρυσᾶ. κατὰ μέσον δὲ τῶν ἄντρων νύμφαι ἐλείφθησαν, ἐν

[1] A second τότε after φαντασία deleted by Schweighäuser.

[2] ἐχορηγεῖτο A : ἐκεχορήγητο Meineke.

[3] παντοῖαι Schweighäuser : παντοῖοι A.

[4] ἀργυροῖ . . . χρυσοῖ Casaubon : ἀργυραῖ . . . χρυσαῖ A.

[5] ἐν added by Casaubon.

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[a] παραστάδες are terminal piers, Lat. *antae*.

[b] There were three chief schools, Helladic, Asiatic, and Sicyonian, the last headed by Eupompus (Pliny, xxxv. 10. 36).

and it is not easy, as a rule, for the rose or the wallflower or any other flower to fail entirely. Therefore, since the entertainment which was given at that time took place in the middle of winter, the scene which presented itself to the eyes of the guests passed belief. For flowers which, in any other city, could have been found only with difficulty to make up a single wreath, were lavished without stint in a wealth of wreaths upon the multitude of reclining guests, and, moreover, lay scattered profusely on the floor of the pavilion, truly presenting the picture of an extraordinarily beautiful meadow. At the columns [a] which supported the pavilion were placed marble figures, a hundred in all, the work of the foremost artists. In the intercolumniations were paintings by artists of the Sicyonian school,[b] alternating with a great variety of selected portraits; also there were tunics of cloth of gold and most beautiful military cloaks, some having portraits of the kings woven in them, others depicting subjects taken from mythology. Above these oblong shields were hung all round, alternately of silver and of gold. And in the spaces above these again, each measuring eight cubits, recesses were constructed, six on each of the longer sides of the pavilion, and four on the narrower sides [c]; and in these recesses were representations of drinking-parties arranged to face one another, composed of figures taken from tragedy, comedy, and satyric drama, wearing real clothing, and beside them lay cups of gold. In the spaces between the recesses were left niches,[d]

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[c] For μῆκος and πλάτος, "longitudinal" and "latitudinal," see 196 b, note.

[d] This meaning of νύμφη apparently occurs only here, but there is no reason, with Kaibel, to suspect it.

αἷς ἔκειντο Δελφικοὶ χρυσοῖ τρίποδες ὑποστήματ'
ἔχοντες. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὑψηλότατον τόπον τῆς
ὀροφῆς ἀετοὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἦσαν ἀλλήλων χρυσοῖ,
πεντεκαιδεκαπήχεις τὸ μέγεθος. ἔκειντο δὲ κλῖναι
χρυσαῖ σφιγγόποδες ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ πλευραῖς ἑκατόν·
ἡ γὰρ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἁψὶς[1] ἀφεῖτ' ἀναπεπταμένη.
b ταύταις δ' ἀμφίταποι ἁλουργεῖς ὑπέστρωντο τῆς
πρώτης ἐρέας, καὶ περιστρώματα ποικίλα διαπρεπῆ
ταῖς τέχναις ἐπῆν. ψιλαὶ δὲ Περσικαὶ τὴν ἀνὰ
μέσον τῶν ποδῶν χώραν ἐκάλυπτον, ἀκριβῆ τὴν
εὐγραμμίαν τῶν ἐνυφασμένων ἔχουσαι ζῳδίων.
παρετέθησαν δὲ καὶ τρίποδες τοῖς κατακειμένοις
χρυσοῖ διακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὥστ' εἶναι δύο κατὰ
κλίνην, ἐπ' ἀργυρῶν διέδρων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄπισθεν
πρὸς τὴν ἀπόνιψιν[2] ἑκατὸν ἀργυραῖ λεκάναι καὶ
c καταχύσεις ἴσαι παρέκειντο. ἐπεπήγει δὲ τοῦ
συμποσίου καταντικρὺ καὶ ἑτέρα κλίνη πρὸς τὴν
τῶν κυλίκων καὶ ποτηρίων τῶν τε λοιπῶν τῶν
πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν ἀνηκόντων[3] κατασκευασμάτων
ἔκθεσιν· ἃ δὴ πάντα χρυσᾶ τε ἦν καὶ διάλιθα,
θαυμαστὰ ταῖς τέχναις. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν κατὰ
μέρος κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰ γένη μακρὸν ἐπεφαίνετό
μοι δηλοῦν· τὸ δὲ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πλῆθος εἰς μύρια
τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τὴν σύμπασαν εἶχε κατασκευήν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν διεληλύθαμεν,
ποιησόμεθα καὶ τὴν τῆς πομπῆς ἐξήγησιν.
ἤγετο γὰρ διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν σταδίου.

[1] ἁψὶς Wilamowitz: ὄψις A.
[2] ἀπόνιψιν Rohde: ἄποψιν A.
[3] καὶ after ἀνηκόντων deleted by Casaubon.

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[a] Of silver (ὑποστήματ' ἀργυρᾶ)? So Meineke.

in which were set up Delphic tripods of gold, with supports beneath.[a] Along the topmost space in the ceiling gold eagles faced each other, fifteen cubits in length. On the two sides[b] were set a hundred gold couches with feet shaped like Sphinxes; for the apse facing the entrance was left open. On the couches were spread purple rugs made of wool of the first quality, with pile on both sides; and over them were counterpanes embroidered with exquisite art. Smooth[c] Persian carpets covered the space in the middle trodden by the feet, having beautiful designs of figures woven in them with minute skill. Beside the guests, as they reclined, were set three-legged tables of gold, two hundred in number, making two to each couch; they were set upon silver rests. Behind them, ready for the hand-washing, were a hundred silver basins and the same number of pitchers. In full sight of the company was built another couch also for the display of the goblets and cups and all the rest of the utensils appropriate to use on the occasion; all of these were of gold and studded with gems, wonderful in their workmanship. Now it clearly appeared to me that it would be tedious to explain the materials and styles of all these vessels; but the weight of them all, taken together in a single mass, was about ten thousand silver talents.[d]

"Since we have described the pavilion and its contents, we will now give an account of the procession. It was held in the city[e] stadium. At

[b] Of the pavilion.

[c] This word (ψιλαί, "smooth") is used as a substantive in late Greek, meaning "carpets."

[d] Nearly three hundred tons.

[e] Alexandria.

d πρώτη δ' ἐβάδιζεν ἡ[1] Ἑωσφόρου· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἡ πομπὴ καθ' ὃν ὁ προειρημένος ἀστὴρ φαίνεται χρόνον. ἔπειθ' ἡ τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων γονεῦσι κατωνομασμένη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας αἱ τῶν θεῶν ἁπάντων, οἰκείαν ἔχουσαι τῆς περὶ ἕκαστον[2] αὐτῶν ἱστορίας διασκευήν. τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν Ἑσπέρου συνέβαινεν εἶναι, τῆς ὥρας εἰς τοῦτο[3] συναγούσης τὸν καιρόν. τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν εἴ τις εἰδέναι βούλεται, τὰς τῶν πεντ-
e ετηρίδων γραφὰς λαμβάνων ἐπισκοπείτω. τῆς δὲ Διονυσιακῆς πομπῆς πρῶτοι μὲν προῄεσαν οἱ τὸν ὄχλον ἀνείργοντες Σιληνοί, πορφυρᾶς χλαμύδας, οἱ δὲ φοινικίδας ἠμφιεσμένοι. τούτοις δ' ἐπηκολούθουν Σάτυροι καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ σταδίου μέρος εἴκοσι, λαμπάδας φέροντες κισσίνας[4] διαχρύσους. μεθ' οὓς Νῖκαι χρυσᾶς ἔχουσαι πτέρυγας. ἔφερον δ' αὗται θυμιατήρια ἑξαπήχη κισσίνοις διαχρύσοις κλωσὶ[5] διακεκοσμημένα, ζῳωτοὺς ἐνδεδυκυῖαι χιτῶνας, αὐταὶ δὲ πολὺν κόσμον χρυσοῦν περι-
f κείμεναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας εἵπετο βωμὸς ἑξάπηχυς διπλοῦς κισσίνῃ φυλλάδι διαχρύσῳ πεπυκασμένος, ἔχων ἀμπέλινον χρυσοῦν στέφανον μεσολεύκοις μίτραις διειλημμένον. ἐπηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐν χιτῶσι πορφυροῖς, λιβανωτὸν καὶ σμύρναν, ἔτι δὲ κρόκον ἐπὶ χρυσῶν μαζονόμων φέροντες ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. μεθ' οὓς Σάτυροι τεσσαράκοντα ἐστεφανωμένοι κισσίνοις χρυσοῖς στε-

[1] ἡ added by Kaibel.
[2] ἕκαστον Wilamowitz: ἑκάστων A.
[3] τοῦτο A: τοῦτον Kaibel.
[4] Perhaps a mistake; *cf.* λαμπάδες διάχρυσοι 198 f.
[5] κλωσὶ Adam: καιωσι A.

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[a] Venus.
[b] Ptolemy Philadelphus married his sister Arsinoë (*F.H.G.*

the head marched the 'division of the Morning Star'[a] because the procession began at the time that star appears. Then came that part of the procession which was named from the parents of the king and queen.[b] After these came the divisions named from all the gods, having decorative symbols appropriate to the story of each divinity. The last division, as it happened, was that of the Evening Star, since the season of the year brought the time consumed by the procession down to that point.[c] If anyone wishes to learn the details, let him take and study the records of the quadrennial games. In the Dionysiac procession, there marched at the head Sileni who kept back the crowds; they were dressed in purple riding-cloaks, some in red. These were closely followed by Satyrs, twenty at each end of the stadium, carrying torches ornamented with gilt ivy-leaves.[d] After these came Victories with gold wings. These carried censers nine feet high, ornamented with gilt ivy-sprays; the women had on embroidered tunics, and their persons were covered with much gold jewelry. After them followed a double altar nine feet long, ornamented in high relief with gilt ivy-foliage, and having a gold crown of grape-leaves twined with striped white ribbons. Following this came one hundred and twenty boys in purple tunics, carrying frankincense and myrrh, and, moreover, saffron upon gold trenchers. After them marched forty Satyrs crowned with gold

iii. 534, Athen. 621 a). Their parents were Ptolemy Soter and Berenice.

[c] *i.e.* it was the middle of winter, and the parade lasted from the morning to the evening star. The expression is clumsy, but not incorrect. See critical note.

[d] See critical note.

φάνοις· τὰ δὲ σώματα οἱ μὲν ἐκέχριντο ὀστρείῳ,
198 τινὲς δὲ μίλτῳ καὶ χρώμασιν ἑτέροις. ἔφερον
δὲ καὶ οὗτοι στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐξ ἀμπέλου καὶ
κισσοῦ εἰργασμένον. μεθ' οὓς Σιληνοὶ δύο ἐν
πορφυραῖς χλαμύσι καὶ κρηπῖσι λευκαῖς. εἶχε
δ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πέτασον καὶ κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν,
ὁ δὲ σάλπιγγα. μέσος δὲ τούτων ἐβάδιζεν ἀνὴρ
μείζων ἢ[1] τετράπηχυς ἐν τραγικῇ διαθέσει καὶ
προσώπῳ, φέρων χρυσοῦν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας· ὃς
προσηγορεύετο Ἐνιαυτός. ᾧ γυνὴ περικαλλεστάτη
καὶ ἴση[2] κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος εἵπετο πολλῷ
b χρυσῷ καὶ διαπρεπεῖ χιτῶνι[3] κεκοσμημένη,
φέρουσα τῇ μὲν μιᾷ τῶν χειρῶν στέφανον περσέας,[4]
τῇ δ' ἑτέρᾳ ῥάβδον φοίνικος· ἐκαλεῖτο
δὲ αὕτη Πεντετηρίς. ταύτῃ δ' ἐπηκολούθουν
Ὧραι αἱ[5] τέσσαρες διεσκευασμέναι καὶ ἑκάστη
φέρουσα τοὺς ἰδίους καρπούς. ἐχόμενα τούτων
θυμιατήρια δύο κίσσινα ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἑξαπήχη καὶ
βωμὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων τετράγωνος χρυσοῦ.
καὶ πάλιν Σάτυροι στεφάνους ἔχοντες κισσίνους
χρυσοῦς, φοινικίδας περιβεβλημένοι· ἔφερον δ'
οἱ μὲν οἰνοχόην χρυσῆν, οἱ δὲ καρχήσιον. μεθ'
οὓς ἐπορεύετο Φιλίσκος ὁ ποιητὴς ἱερεὺς ὢν
c Διονύσου καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται.
τούτων δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐφέροντο Δελφικοὶ τρίποδες,
ἆθλα τοῖς τῶν ἀθλητῶν χορηγοῖς, ὁ μὲν παιδικὸς[6]
ἐννέα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ πηχῶν δώδεκα ὁ τῶν

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[1] ἢ added by Kaibel.
[2] καὶ ἴση added by Meyer.
[3] χιτῶνι added by Meyer.
[4] περσέας C : περσαίας A.
[5] αἱ added by Kaibel.
[6] παιδικὸς Kaibel (παιδίσκων Schweighäuser matching ἀνδρῶν) : παιδίσκος A.

crowns in ivy pattern; their bodies were smeared in some cases with purple, in others with vermilion and other colours. These also wore a gold crown wrought in grape and ivy patterns. After them came two Sileni in purple riding-cloaks and white shoes. One of them wore a broad-brimmed hat and held a herald's staff of gold, the other carried a trumpet. Between these walked a man over six feet tall, in tragic costume and mask, carrying a gold horn of plenty; he was called 'The Year.' He was followed by a very beautiful woman as tall as he, dressed in a striking tunic and adorned with much gold, and carrying in one hand a crown of persea,[a] in the other a palm-branch; she was called 'Lustrum.'[b] She was closely followed by the four Seasons gaily dressed and each carrying the fruits appropriate to her. Next these were two censers, nine feet tall, ornamented with ivy pattern in gold; also a square altar between them, of gold. Again came Satyrs wearing gold ivy-crowns and clad in red tunics; some carried a gold wine-pitcher, others a gold goblet. After them marched the poet Philiscus, who was a priest of Dionysus, and all the guild of the artists of Dionysus.[c] Next were borne Delphic tripods, being prizes for the managers of the athletes; the one intended for the manager of the boys' class was thirteen and a half feet high, the other, for the manager of the adults' class, was eighteen feet.

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[a] An Egyptian plant (*Mimusops Schimperi*, Hort).

[b] A πεντετηρίς, here rendered 'lustrum,' was a period of four years, or a festival held once in that period.

[c] The "artists of Dionysus" was a later name for actors.

ἀνδρῶν. μετὰ τούτους τετράκυκλος πηχῶν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὀκτὼ δὲ τὸ πλάτος, ἤγετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐπῆν ἄγαλμα Διονύσου δεκάπηχυ σπένδον ἐκ καρχησίου χρυσοῦ, χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ἔχον διάπεζον καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κροκωτὸν διαφανῆ· περιεβέβλητο δὲ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν χρυσοποίκιλον. d προέκειτο δὲ αὐτοῦ κρατὴρ Λακωνικὸς χρυσοῦς μετρητῶν δεκαπέντε καὶ τρίπους χρυσοῦς, ἐφ᾽ οὗ θυμιατήριον χρυσοῦν καὶ φιάλαι δύο χρυσαῖ, κασίας[1] μεσταὶ καὶ κρόκου. περιέκειτο δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ σκιὰς ἐκ κισσοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὀπώρας κεκοσμημένη, προσήρτηντο δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ ταινίαι καὶ θύρσοι καὶ τύμπανα καὶ μίτραι πρόσωπά τε σατυρικὰ καὶ κωμικὰ καὶ e τραγικά. τῇ δὲ τετρακύκλῳ . . .[2] ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱέρειαι καὶ ἱεροστολισταὶ[3] καὶ θίασοι παντοδαποὶ καὶ τὰ λίκνα φέρουσαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μακέται αἱ καλούμεναι Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Βασσάραι καὶ Λυδαί, κατακεχυμέναι τὰς τρίχας καὶ ἐστεφανωμέναι τινὲς μὲν ὄφεσιν, αἱ δὲ μίλακι[4] καὶ ἀμπέλῳ καὶ κισσῷ· κατεῖχον δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν αἱ μὲν ἐγχειρίδια, αἱ δὲ ὄφεις. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἤγετο f τετράκυκλος πηχῶν ὀκτὼ πλάτος ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἑξήκοντα, ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἄγαλμα Νύσης ὀκτάπηχυ καθήμενον, ἐνδεδυκὸς μὲν θάψινον χιτῶνα χρυσοποίκιλον,

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[1] κασίας 201 a : κασσίας AC.

[2] ἐπηκολούθουν or εἵποντο to be supplied (Schweighäuser).

[3] ἱεροστολισταὶ Rohde : περσειστελεταὶ A. Schweighäuser's πέρυσι τελεσταί, "last year's initiates," is palaeographically more attractive.

[4] μίλακι Kaibel : μίλαξι AC.

After these came a four-wheeled cart, twenty-one feet long and twelve feet wide, drawn by one hundred and eighty men ; in this stood a statue of Dionysus, fifteen feet tall, pouring a libation from a gold goblet, and wearing a purple tunic extending to the feet, over which was a transparent saffron coat ; but round his shoulders was thrown a purple mantle spangled with gold. In front of him lay a gold Laconian mixing-bowl holding one hundred and fifty gallons[a] ; also a gold tripod, on which lay a gold censer and two saucers of gold full of cassia and saffron. Over him stretched a canopy decorated with ivy, grape-vine, and the other cultivated fruits, and hanging to it also were wreaths, ribbons, Bacchic wands, tambourines, fillets, and satyric, comic, and tragic masks. The cart (was followed) by priests and priestesses and those who had charge of the sacred vestments,[b] sacred guilds[c] of every description, and women carrying the winnowing-fans.[d] Next came Macedonian bacchants, the so-called 'Mimallones,' and 'Bassarae' and 'Lydian women,'[e] with hair streaming down and crowned with wreaths, some of snakes, others of smilax and vine-leaves and ivy ; in their hands some held daggers, others snakes. After these women came a four-wheeled cart twelve feet wide and drawn by sixty men, in which was seated an image of Nysa, twelve feet high ; she had on a yellow tunic with gold spangles, and was

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[a] Fifteen times the capacity of an Athenian amphora (μετρητής) or ordinary wine-jar. Though the Macedonian μετρητής was smaller, the figures here given are based on the Athenian, in order to avoid fractions.

[b] See crit. note.

[c] See 186 a, note a.

[d] The *mystica vannus Iacchi*.

[e] All names of female devotees of Dionysus.

ἱμάτιον δὲ ἠμφίεστο Λακωνικόν. ἀνίστατο δὲ[1]
τοῦτο μηχανικῶς οὐδενὸς τὰς χεῖρας προσάγοντος
καὶ σπεῖσαν ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης γάλα πάλιν ἐκάθητο.
εἶχε δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ θύρσον ἐστεμμένον μίτραις.
αὕτη δ' ἐστεφάνωτο κισσίνῳ χρυσῷ καὶ βότρυσι
διαλίθοις πολυτελέσιν. εἶχε δὲ σκιάδα καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν γωνιῶν τῆς τετρακύκλου κατεπεπήγεσαν
199 λαμπάδες διάχρυσοι τέτταρες. ἑξῆς εἵλκετο ἄλλη
τετράκυκλος μῆκος πηχῶν εἴκοσι,[2] πλάτος ἑκκαίδεκα,
ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων· ἐφ' ἧς κατεσκεύαστο
ληνὸς πηχῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων, πλάτος
πεντεκαίδεκα, πλήρης σταφυλῆς. ἐπάτουν δὲ
ἑξήκοντα Σάτυροι πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες μέλος
ἐπιλήνιον, ἐφειστήκει δ' αὐτοῖς Σιληνός. καὶ δι'
ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ γλεῦκος ἔρρει. ἑξῆς ἐφέρετο
τετράκυκλος μῆκος πηχῶν εἴκοσι πέντε, πλάτος
τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ἤγετο δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων·
ἐφ' ἧς ἦν ἀσκὸς τρισχιλίους ἔχων μετρητάς, ἐκ
b παρδαλῶν[3] ἐρραμμένος· ἔρρει δὲ καὶ οὗτος κατὰ
μικρὸν ἀνιέμενος κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν. ἠκολούθουν
δ' αὐτῷ Σάτυροι καὶ Σιληνοὶ ἑκατὸν
εἴκοσι ἐστεφανωμένοι, φέροντες οἱ μὲν οἰνοχόας,
οἱ δὲ φιάλας, οἱ δὲ θηρικλείους μεγάλας, πάντα
χρυσᾶ. ἐχόμενος ἤγετο κρατὴρ ἀργυροῦς ἑξακοσίους
χωρῶν μετρητὰς ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου ἑλκομένης
ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων. εἶχε δὲ ὑπὸ τὰ χείλη
καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν βάσιν ζῷα τετορευμένα
c καὶ διὰ μέσου ἐστεφάνωτο στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ

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[1] δὲ Schweighäuser: δὴ AC.

[2] Another number, not less than πέντε, has been lost, since the length of the cart here given is less than that of the wine-press.

wrapped in a Laconian shawl. Moreover, this image could rise up automatically without anyone putting his hands to it, and after pouring a libation of milk from a gold saucer it would sit down again. It held in the left hand a Bacchic wand bound with fillets. Moreover, Nysa wore a crown of gold ivy-leaf and very rich grape-clusters of jewels. She also had a canopy, and at the corners of the cart were fastened four torches with gold bands. Next there followed another four-wheeler, thirty[a] feet long, twenty-four feet wide, drawn by three hundred men; in this was set up a wine-press thirty-six feet long, twenty-two and a half feet wide, full of grapes. And sixty Satyrs trod them while they sang a vintage song to the accompaniment of pipes, and a Silenus superintended them. The new wine streamed through the whole line of march. Next came a four-wheeled cart thirty-seven and a half feet long, twenty-one feet wide, and drawn by six hundred men; in it was a wine skin holding thirty thousand gallons, stitched together from leopard pelts; this also trickled over the whole line of march as the wine was slowly let out. Following the skin came a hundred and twenty crowned Satyrs and Sileni, some carrying wine-pitchers, others shallow cups, still others large deep cups—everything of gold. Immediately next to them passed a silver mixing-bowl holding six thousand gallons, in a cart drawn by six hundred men. It bore, beneath the brim and handles and under the base, figures of beaten metal, and round the middle ran a gold band, like a wreath, studded

[a] See critical note.

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[3] After παρδαλῶν AC have the gloss δερμάτων, deleted by Meineke.

διαλίθῳ. ἑξῆς ἐφέρετο κυλικεῖα ἀργυρᾶ δωδεκαπήχη δύο, ὕψος πηχῶν ἕξ· ταῦτα δ' εἶχεν ἄνω τε ἀκρωτήρια καὶ ἐν ταῖς γάστραις κύκλῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν ζῷα τριημιπήχη[1] καὶ πηχυαῖα πλήθει πολλά. καὶ λουτῆρες μεγάλοι δέκα καὶ κρατῆρες ἑκκαίδεκα, ὧν οἱ μείζους ἐχώρουν μετρητὰς τριάκοντα, οἱ δ' ἐλάχιστοι πέντε. εἶτα λέβητες βαλανωτοὶ[2] εἴκοσι τέσσαρες ἐπ' ἐγγυθήκαις πάντες[3] καὶ ληνοὶ ἀργυραῖ δύο, ἐφ' ὧν ἦσαν βῖκοι d εἴκοσι τέσσαρες, τράπεζά τε ὁλάργυρος δωδεκάπηχυς καὶ ἄλλαι ἑξαπήχεις τριάκοντα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τρίποδες τέσσαρες, ὧν εἷς μὲν εἶχε τὴν περίμετρον πηχῶν ἑκκαίδεκα, κατάργυρος ὢν ὅλος, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐλάττονες ὄντες διάλιθοι κατὰ μέσον ὑπῆρχον. μετὰ τούτους ἐφέροντο Δελφικοὶ τρίποδες ἀργυροῖ ὀγδοήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐλάττους τῶν προειρημένων, ὧν αἱ γωνίαι . . . , τετραμέτρητοι,[4] ὑδρίαι εἴκοσι καὶ ἕξ, ἀμφορεῖς Παναθηναϊκοὶ δεκαέξ, ψυκτῆρες ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα· e τούτων ὁ μέγιστος ἦν μετρητῶν ἕξ, ὁ δὲ ἐλάχιστος δύο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦν ἅπαντα ἀργυρᾶ.

Ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐπόμπευον οἱ τὰ χρυσώματα φέροντες, κρατῆρας Λακωνικοὺς τέτταρας ἔχοντας στεφάνους ἀμπελίνους . . . τετραμέτρητοι[5] ἕτεροι, Κορινθιουργεῖς δύο—οὗτοι δ' εἶχον

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[1] τριημιπήχη Schweighäuser: τρία ἡμιπήχη A.

[2] ἓξ before βαλανωτοὶ deleted by Kaibel, *cf.* 210 a: βαλανωτοὶ O. Jahn, *cf.* 502 a: βανωτοὶ A.

[3] πάντες Kaibel: πέντε A.

[4] τετραμέτρητοι Meineke: τετράμετροι A. The lacuna may have read ζῷα εἶχον τετορευμένα (Dobree), "and they had figures of beaten metal."

with jewels. Next were carried two silver stands for drinking-cups, eighteen feet long and nine feet in height; these had end-ornaments on top, and on the swelling sides all round as well as on the legs were carved figures, many in number, two and three feet high. And there were ten large basins and sixteen mixing-bowls, the larger of which held three hundred gallons, while the smallest held fifty. Then there were twenty-four cauldrons ornamented with an acorn boss, all of them on stands; and two silver wine-presses, on which were twenty-four jars, a table of solid silver eighteen feet long, and thirty more tables nine feet long. Added to these were four tripods, one of which had a circumference of twenty-four feet, plated throughout with silver, while the other three, which were smaller, were studded with jewels in the centre. After these were borne along Delphic tripods of silver, eighty in number, but smaller than those just mentioned; at their corners (were figures in beaten metal[a]), and the tripods had a capacity of forty gallons. There were twenty-six water-jars, sixteen Panathenaic amphoras, one hundred and sixty wine-coolers; of these the largest contained sixty gallons, the smallest twenty. All these vessels were of silver.

"Next to these in the procession came those who carried the gold utensils, four Laconian mixing-bowls with bands of vine-leaves . . .[a] others with a capacity of forty gallons; and two of Corinthian workmanship, on stands; these had on the brim

[a] See critical note.

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[5] *τετραμέτρητοι* A: *τετραμετρήτους* Schweighäuser. But several words have been lost.

ἄνωθεν καθήμενα περιφανῆ τετορευμένα ζῷα καὶ
ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς γάστραις πρόστυπα
ἐπιμελῶς πεποιημένα· ἐχώρει δ᾽ ἕκαστος
μετρητὰς ὀκτώ—ἐπ᾽ ἐγγυθήκαις. καὶ ληνός, ἐν
f ᾗ ἦσαν βῖκοι δέκα, ὁλκεῖα δύο, ἑκάτερον χωροῦν
μετρητὰς πέντε, κώθωνες[1] διμέτρητοι δύο, ψυκτῆρες
εἴκοσι δύο, ὧν ὁ μέγιστος ἐχώρει μετρητὰς
τριάκοντα, ὁ δὲ ἐλάχιστος μετρητήν. ἐπόμπευσαν
δὲ τρίποδες χρυσοῖ μεγάλοι τέτταρες· καὶ χρυσωματοθήκη
χρυσῆ διάλιθος πηχῶν δέκα ὕψος,
ἔχουσα βασμοὺς ἕξ, ἐν οἷς καὶ ζῷα τετραπάλαιστα
ἐπιμελῶς πεποιημένα, πολλὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν· καὶ
κυλικεῖα δύο καὶ ὑάλινα διάχρυσα δύο· ἐγγυθῆκαι
200 χρυσαῖ τετραπήχεις δύο, ἄλλαι ἐλάττους τρεῖς,
ὑδρίαι δέκα, βωμὸς τρίπηχυς, μαζονόμια εἴκοσι
πέντε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο παῖδες χίλιοι
καὶ ἑξακόσιοι ἐνδεδυκότες χιτῶνας λευκούς, ἐστεφανωμένοι
οἱ μὲν κισσῷ, οἱ δὲ πίτυι· ὧν διακόσιοι
μὲν καὶ πεντήκοντα χοεῖς εἶχον χρυσοῦς, τετρακόσιοι
δὲ ἀργυροῦς, ἕτεροι δὲ τριακόσιοι καὶ
εἴκοσι ψυκτήρια ἔφερον χρυσᾶ, οἱ δὲ ἀργυρᾶ.
μεθ᾽ οὓς ἄλλοι παῖδες ἔφερον κεράμια πρὸς τὴν
τοῦ γλυκισμοῦ χρείαν, ὧν εἴκοσι μὲν ἦν χρυσᾶ,
πεντήκοντα δὲ ἀργυρᾶ, τριακόσια δὲ κεκηρογραφημένα
b χρώμασι παντοίοις. καὶ κερασθέντων
ἐν ταῖς ὑδρίαις καὶ πίθοις πάντες κοσμίως ἐγλυκάνθησαν
οἱ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ."

Ἑξῆς τούτοις καταλέγει τετραπήχεις τραπέζας
ἐφ᾽ ὧν πολλὰ θέας ἄξια πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένα

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[1] κώθωνες 483 f: κωθῶναι A.

seated figures in beaten metal, very striking; and on the neck and round the bowl were figures in relief, carefully fashioned; the capacity of each was eighty gallons. There was also a press containing ten wine-jars, two basins, each holding fifty gallons, two drinking-cups holding twenty gallons, twenty-two wine-coolers; of these the largest held three hundred gallons, the smallest ten. Four large gold tripods were carried in the procession; and there was a gold chest for gold vessels, studded with jewels and having a height of fifteen feet, with six shelves, on which stood a great number of figures carefully fashioned, four spans high; there were also two stands for cups, and two glass vessels studded with jewels; two gold stands six feet high, beside three smaller ones, ten water-jars, an altar four and a half feet high, and twenty-five bread-plates. After all this there marched one thousand six hundred boys who had on white tunics and wore crowns, some of ivy, others of pine; two hundred and fifty of them carried gold pitchers, four hundred, silver pitchers; while another band of three hundred and twenty bore gold or silver wine-coolers. After them other boys carried jars intended to be used for sweetmeats; twenty of these were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred were adorned with encaustic paintings in all sorts of colours. And since the mixtures had already been made in the water-jars and casks, all persons in the stadium were duly showered with sweetness."

Next to these in his[a] catalogue were six-foot tables on which were borne remarkable scenes lavishly re-

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[a] Callixeinus, 196 a.

περιήγετο θεάματα. ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ τῆς Σεμέλης
θάλαμος, ἐν ᾧ ἔχουσι χιτῶνας τινὲς διαχρύσους
καὶ λιθοκολλήτους τῶν πολυτιμήτων. οὐκ ἄξιον
δ' ἦν παραλιπεῖν τήνδε "τὴν τετράκυκλον, μῆκος
οὖσαν πηχῶν εἴκοσι δύο, πλάτος δεκατεσσάρων,
c ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἑλκομένην πεντακοσίων· ἐφ' ἧς
ἄντρον ἦν βαθὺ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν κισσῷ καὶ μίλῳ.
ἐκ τούτου περιστεραὶ καὶ φάσσαι καὶ τρυγόνες
καθ' ὅλην ἐξίπταντο τὴν ὁδόν, λημνίσκοις τοὺς
πόδας δεδεμέναι πρὸς τὸ ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῶν θεωμένων
ἁρπάζεσθαι. ἀνέβλυζον δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ
κρουνοὶ δύο, ὁ μὲν γάλακτος, ὁ δὲ οἴνου. πᾶσαι
δ' αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν Νύμφαι στεφάνους εἶχον χρυσοῦς,
ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς καὶ κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν, ἐσθῆτας δὲ
πολυτελεῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλης τετρακύκλου, ἣ περιεῖχε
d τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν κάθοδον Διονύσου, Διόνυσος ἦν
δωδεκάπηχυς ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος κατακείμενος, ἠμφιεσμένος
πορφυρίδα καὶ στέφανον κισσοῦ καὶ
ἀμπέλου χρυσοῦν ἔχων· εἶχε δ' ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ
θυρσόλογχον χρυσοῦν, ὑπεδέδετο δ' ἐμβάδας χρυσορραφεῖς.[1]
προεκάθητο δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ
τοῦ ἐλέφαντος Σατυρίσκος πεντάπηχυς ἐστεφανωμένος
πίτυος στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ, τῇ δεξιᾷ
χειρὶ αἰγείῳ κέρατι χρυσῷ σημαίνων. ὁ δὲ
ἐλέφας σκευὴν εἶχε χρυσῆν καὶ περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ
e κίσσινον χρυσοῦν στέφανον. ἠκολούθουν δὲ τούτῳ
παιδίσκαι πεντακόσιαι κεκοσμημέναι χιτῶσι πορφυροῖς,
χρυσῷ διεζωσμέναι. ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ αἱ
μὲν ἡγούμεναι ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι χρυσοῖς πιτυίνοις
στεφάνοις, ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐταῖς Σάτυροι ἑκατὸν

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[1] χρυσορραφεῖς Wilamowitz: χρυσογραφεῖς AC.

presented.[a] Among these was included the bridal chamber of Semele, in which certain characters wear tunics of gold bejewelled with the costliest gems. And it would not be right to omit the following mention of "the four-wheeled cart, in length thirty-three feet, in width twenty-one, drawn by five hundred men; in it was a deep cavern profusely shaded with ivy and yew. From this pigeons, ring-doves, and turtle-doves flew forth along the whole route, with nooses tied to their feet so that they could be easily caught by the spectators. And from it also gushed forth two fountains, one of milk, the other of wine. And all the nymphs standing round him[b] wore crowns of gold, and Hermes had a staff of gold, and all in rich garments. In another cart, which contained 'the return of Dionysus from India,' there was a Dionysus measuring eighteen feet who reclined upon an elephant's back, clad in a purple coat and wearing a gold crown, of ivy and vine pattern; he held in his hands a gold wand-lance, and his feet were shod with shoes fastened by gold straps. Seated in front of him on the elephant's neck was a Satyr measuring seven and a half feet, crowned with a gold pine-wreath, his right hand holding a goat-horn of gold, as though he were signalling with it. The elephant had trappings of gold and round its neck an ivy-crown in gold. This cart was followed by five hundred young girls dressed in purple tunics with gold girdles. Those who were in the lead, numbering one hundred and twenty, wore gold pine-crowns; following them

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[a] Probably like the "krippen" or "crèches" shown at Christmas on the Continent to-day.

[b] Probably the infant Dionysus.

εἴκοσι, πανοπλίας οἱ μὲν χρυσᾶς, οἱ δὲ[1] ἀργυρᾶς, οἱ δὲ χαλκᾶς ἔχοντες. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐπορεύοντο ὄνων ἶλαι πέντε, ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἦσαν Σιληνοὶ καὶ Σάτυροι ἐστεφανωμένοι. τῶν δὲ ὄνων οἱ μὲν χρυσᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἀργυρᾶς προμετωπίδας καὶ σκευασίας εἶχον.
f μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐλεφάντων ἅρματα ἀφείθη εἴκοσι τέτταρα καὶ συνωρίδες τράγων ἑξήκοντα, κόλων[2] δεκαδύο, ὀρύγων ἑπτά, βουβάλων δεκαπέντε, στρουθῶν συνωρίδες ὀκτώ, ὀνελάφων ἑπτά, καὶ συνωρίδες δʹ ὄνων ἀγρίων, ἅρματα τέσσαρα. ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων τούτων ἀνεβεβήκει παιδάρια χιτῶνας ἔχοντα ἡνιοχικοὺς καὶ πετάσους. παρανεβεβήκει δὲ παιδισκάρια διεσκευασμένα πελταρίοις καὶ θυρσολόγχοις, κεκοσμημένα ἱματίοις καὶ χρυσίοις.[3] ἐστεφάνωτο δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡνιοχοῦντα παιδάρια πίτυι, τὰ δὲ παιδισκάρια κισσῷ. ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ συνωρίδες καμήλων ἕξ,[4] ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους τρεῖς· αἷς ἐπηκολούθουν ἀπῆναι ὑφ᾽ ἡμιόνων ἀγόμεναι. αὗται δ᾽ εἶχον σκηνὰς
201 βαρβαρικάς, ὑφ᾽ ὧν[5] ἐκάθηντο γυναῖκες Ἰνδαὶ καὶ ἕτεραι κεκοσμημέναι ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι. κάμηλοι δ᾽ αἱ μὲν ἔφερον λιβανωτοῦ μνᾶς τριακοσίας, σμύρνης τριακοσίας, κρόκου καὶ κασίας καὶ κινναμώμου καὶ ἴριδος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρωμάτων διακοσίας. ἐχόμενοι τούτων ἦσαν Αἰθίοπες δωροφόροι, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔφερον ὀδόντας ἑξακοσίους, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐβένου κορμοὺς δισχιλίους, ἄλλοι χρυσίου[6] καὶ ἀργυρίου κρατῆρας ἑξήκοντα καὶ ψήγματα

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[1] *χρυσᾶς, οἱ δὲ* added by Kaibel.
[2] *κόλων* Gesner: *κώλων* A.

came one hundred and twenty Satyrs, some in gold, some in silver, and some in bronze panoply. After them marched five troops of asses on which were mounted Sileni and Satyrs wearing crowns. Some of the asses had frontlets [a] and harness of gold, others, of silver. After them were sent forth twenty-four elephant chariots, sixty teams of he-goats, twelve of saiga antelopes,[b] seven of beisa antelopes, fifteen of leucoryse, eight teams of ostriches, seven of Père David deer, four of wild asses, and four four-horse chariots. On all of these were mounted little boys wearing the tunics and wide-brimmed hats of charioteers, and beside them stood little girls equipped with small crescent shields and wand-lances, dressed in robes and decked with gold coins.[b] The lads driving the chariots wore pine crowns, the girls wore ivy. Next after them came six teams of camels, three on either side. These were immediately followed by carts drawn by mules. These contained barbaric tents, under which sat Indian and other women dressed as captives. Then came camels, some of which carried three hundred pounds of frankincense, three hundred of myrrh, and two hundred of saffron, cassia, cinnamon, orris, and all other spices. Next to these were negro tribute-bearers, some of whom brought six hundred tusks, others two thousand ebony logs, others sixty mixing-bowls full of gold and silver coins and gold dust.

[a] Star-shaped ornaments on the forehead.

[b] See critical note.

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[3] *καὶ χρυσίοις* A: *διαχρύσοις* ("robes of gold thread") Meineke.

[4] *ἕξ* added by Kaibel.

[5] *ὑφ' ὧν* Meineke: *ἐφ' ὧν* AC.

[6] *χρυσίου* Kaibel: *χρυσοῦ* A, *χρυσέους* C.

b χρυσοῦ.[1] μεθ' οὓς ἐπόμπευσαν κυνηγοὶ β'[2] ἔχοντες σιβύνας ἐπιχρύσους. ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ κύνες δισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι, οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοί, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ Ὑρκανοὶ καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ ἑτέρων γενῶν. ἑξῆς ἄνδρες ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα φέροντες δένδρα, ἐξ ὧν ἀνήρτητο θηρία παντοδαπὰ καὶ ὄρνεα. εἶτ' ἐφέροντο ἐν ἀγγείοις ψιττακοὶ καὶ ταῴ[3] καὶ μελεαγρίδες καὶ φασιανοὶ ὄρνιθες καὶ ἄλλοι Αἰθιοπικοί,[4] πλήθει πολλοί."

Εἰπὼν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ καταλέξας ζῴων ἀγέλας ἐπιφέρει· "πρόβατα Αἰθιοπικὰ ἑκατὸν c τριάκοντα, Ἀράβια τριακόσια, Εὐβοϊκὰ εἴκοσι, καὶ ὁλόλευκοι[5] βόες Ἰνδικοὶ εἴκοσι ἕξ, Αἰθιοπικοὶ ὀκτώ, ἄρκτος λευκὴ μεγάλη μία, παρδάλεις ιδ', πάνθηροι ιϛ', λυγκία δ', ἄρκηλοι γ', καμηλοπάρδαλις μία, ῥινόκερως Αἰθιοπικὸς α'. ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου Διόνυσος ἐπὶ[6] τὸν τῆς Ῥέας βωμὸν καταπεφευγὼς ὅτε ὑπὸ Ἥρας ἐδιώκετο, στέφανον ἔχων χρυσοῦν, Πριάπου αὐτῷ παρεστῶτος ἐστεφανωμένου χρυσῷ κισσίνῳ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἥρας ἄγαλμα d στεφάνην εἶχε χρυσῆν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀγάλματα ἐστεφανωμένα στεφάνοις κισσίνοις ἐκ χρυσοῦ. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα τὸ παρεστὸς τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ στέφανον εἶχεν ἐλαίας χρυσοῦν. καὶ Πρίαπος δ' αὐτοῖς συμπαρῆν ἔχων στέφανον κίσσινον ἐκ χρυσοῦ. Κόρινθος δ' ἡ πόλις παρεστῶσα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐστεφάνωτο διαδήματι

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[1] χρυσοῦ Wilamowitz: χρυσίου A, *cf.* 233 d; 203 c.

[2] β' is far too small a number. Was it ͵βυ (2400)?

[3] ταῴ 387 d: ταοὶ AC.

[4] φασιανοὶ ὄρνιθες καὶ ἄλλοι Αἰθιοπικοὶ A: φασιανοί, καὶ ὄρνιθες Αἰθιοπικοί 387 d.

[5] καὶ ὁλόλευκοι Kaibel (following Dindorf): κολοιλευκοι A.

After these, in the procession, marched two [a] hunters carrying gilded hunting-spears. Dogs were also led along, numbering two thousand four hundred, some Indian, the others Hyrcanian or Molossian or of other breeds. Next came one hundred and fifty men carrying trees on which were suspended all sorts of animals and birds. Then were brought, in cages, parrots, peacocks, guinea-fowls, and birds from the Phasis [b] and others from Aethiopia, in great quantities."

After he has spoken of very many other things, and enumerated many droves of animals he adds: "One hundred and thirty Aethiopian sheep, three hundred Arabian, twenty Euboean; also twenty-six Indian zebus entirely white, eight Aethiopian, one large white [c] she-bear, fourteen leopards, sixteen genets, four caracals, three bear-cubs, one giraffe, one Aethiopian rhinoceros. Next in a four-wheeled cart was Dionysus at the altar of Rhea, having found refuge there while being pursued by Hera; he had on a gold crown, and Priapus stood at his side, with a gold ivy-crown. The statue of Hera had a gold diadem. Then there were statues of Alexander and Ptolemy, crowned with ivy-crowns made of gold. The statue of Goodness which stood beside Ptolemy had a gold olive-crown. Priapus stood beside them also wearing an ivy-crown made of gold. The city of Corinth,[d] standing beside Ptolemy, was crowned with a gold band.

[a] See critical note.

[b] *i.e.* "pheasants."

[c] Polar bear, or albino Syrian bear.

[d] Figures representing various Greek states are very common on reliefs.

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[a] ἐπὶ Kaibel: περὶ A.

χρυσῷ. παρέκειντο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις κυλικεῖον μεστὸν χρυσωμάτων κρατήρ τε χρυσοῦς μετρητῶν πέντε. τῇ δὲ τετρακύκλῳ ταύτῃ ἠκολούθουν e γυναῖκες ἔχουσαι ἱμάτια πολυτελῆ καὶ κόσμον· προσηγορεύοντο δὲ πόλεις, αἵ τε ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ αἱ[1] λοιπαὶ Ἑλληνίδες ὅσαι τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους κατοικοῦσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐτάχθησαν· ἐφόρουν δὲ πᾶσαι στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. ἐφέρετο καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων τετρακύκλων θύρσος ἐνενηκοντάπηχυς χρυσοῦς καὶ λόγχη ἀργυρᾶ ἑξηκοντάπηχυς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ φαλλὸς χρυσοῦς πηχῶν ρκʹ διαγεγραμμένος καὶ διαδεδεμένος στέμμασι διαχρύσοις, ἔχων ἐπ' ἄκρου ἀστέρα χρυσοῦν, οὗ ἦν ἡ περίμετρος πηχῶν ϛʹ."

Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ ποικίλων εἰρημένων ἐν ταῖς f πομπαῖς ταύταις μόνα ἐξελεξάμεθα ἐν οἷς ἦν χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος. καὶ γὰρ διαθέσεις πολλαὶ ἀκοῆς ἦσαν ἄξιαι καὶ θηρίων πλήθη καὶ ἵππων καὶ λέοντες παμμεγέθεις εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες. "ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τετράκυκλοι οὐ μόνον εἰκόνας βασιλέων φέρουσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν πολλαί. μεθ' ἃς χορὸς ἐπόμπευσεν ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων· ἐν οἷς κιθαρισταὶ συνεφώνουν τριακόσιοι, ἐπιχρύσους ἔχοντες 202 ὅλας κιθάρας καὶ στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. μεθ' οὓς ταῦροι διῆλθον δισχίλιοι ὁμοιοχρώματοι χρυσόκερῳ, προμετωπίδας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον στεφάνους ὅρμους τε καὶ αἰγίδας πρὸ τῶν στηθῶν ἔχοντες· ἦν δ' ἅπαντα ταῦτα χρυσᾶ. καὶ μετὰ

[1] αἱ added by Rohde.

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[a] By the authority quoted, Callixeinus; the pronoun in

Beside all these figures were placed a stand for cups, full of gold vessels, and a gold mixing-bowl of fifty gallons capacity. Following this cart were women who wore very rich robes and ornaments; they bore the names of cities, some from Ionia, while all the rest were the Greek cities which occupied Asia and the islands and had been under the rule of the Persians; they all wore gold crowns. In other carts, also, were carried a Bacchic wand of gold, one hundred and thirty-five feet long, and a silver spear ninety feet long; in another was a gold phallus one hundred and eighty feet long, painted in various colours and bound with fillets of gold; it had at the extremity a gold star, the perimeter of which was nine feet."

Many and varied though the things are which have been mentioned[a] as belonging to these processions, yet I have selected for mention only those things which contained gold and silver. For there were numerous articles worth mentioning, and quantities of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four huge lions. "There were other carts besides, which carried images of kings and of gods as well, many of them. After them marched a choral band of six hundred men; among them three hundred harp-players performed together, carrying harps gilded all over, and wearing gold crowns. After them two thousand steers, all of the same colour and with gilded horns, came by, having gold stars on their foreheads, wreaths between the horns, and necklaces and aegises on their breasts; all these were of gold. And after this came marching in the

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the next line refers to Athenaeus or his character Masurius, 196 a, though Müller takes it of Callixeinus.

ταῦτα Διὸς ἤγετο πομπὴ καὶ ἄλλων παμπόλλων
θεῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃς ἐφ' ἅρματος
ἐλεφάντων ἀληθινῶν ἐφέρετο χρυσοῦς, Νίκην καὶ
Ἀθηνᾶν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἔχων. ἐπόμπευσαν
δὲ καὶ θρόνοι πολλοὶ ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ
b κατεσκευασμένοι· ὧν ἐφ' ἑνὸς μὲν[1] ἔκειτο στεφάνη
χρυσῆ, ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ κέρας[2] χρυσοῦν, ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ
ἦν στέφανος χρυσοῦς, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ κέρας
ὁλόχρυσον. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος
θρόνον στέφανος ἐπέκειτο ἐκ μυρίων κατεσκευασμένος
χρυσῶν. ἐπόμπευσε δὲ καὶ θυμιατήρια
χρυσᾶ τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ βωμοὶ δὲ[3]
ἐπίχρυσοι ἐστεφανωμένοι χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις· ὧν
ἑνὶ παρεπεπήγεσαν δᾷδες χρυσαῖ δεκαπήχεις τέσσαρες.
ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐσχάραι ἐπίχρυσοι β',
ὧν ἡ μὲν δωδεκάπηχυς τῇ περιμέτρῳ, τεσσαρακοντάπηχυς
ὕψει, ἡ δὲ πηχῶν πεντεκαίδεκα.
c ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ Δελφικοὶ τρίποδες χρυσοῖ ἐννέα
ἐκ πηχῶν τεσσάρων, ἄλλοι ὀκτὼ πηχῶν ἕξ, ἄλλος
πηχῶν τριάκοντα, ἐφ' οὗ ἦν ζῷα χρυσᾶ πενταπήχη
καὶ στέφανος κύκλῳ χρυσοῦς ἀμπέλινος. παρῆλθον
δὲ καὶ φοίνικες ἐπίχρυσοι ὀκταπήχεις ἑπτὰ
καὶ κηρύκειον ἐπίχρυσον πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα
πέντε καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐπίχρυσος πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα
ναός τε ἐπίχρυσος, οὗ ἡ περίμετρος πηχῶν
μ'· δίκερας πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτάπηχυ. πολὺ δὲ καὶ
ζῴων πλῆθος ἐπιχρύσων συνεπόμπευεν, ὧν ἦν τὰ
d πολλὰ δωδεκαπήχη· καὶ θηρία ὑπεράγοντα τοῖς
μεγέθεσι καὶ ἀετοὶ πηχῶν εἴκοσι. στέφανοί τε

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[1] ἐφ' ἑνὸς μὲν C: ἐφ' ἑνὸς A.

[2] δὲ κέρας early edd.: δικερας A, κέρας C.

carnival a division in honour of Zeus and one of other gods in great number, and following all one devoted to Alexander, whose effigy in gold was borne, Victory and Athena on either side, in a chariot drawn by live[a] elephants. In the procession also were many thrones constructed of ivory and gold; on one of these lay a gold diadem, on another a gilded horn, on still another a gold crown, and on another a horn of solid gold. Upon the throne of Ptolemy Soter lay a crown made of ten thousand gold coins. In the procession also were three hundred and fifty gold censers, and gilded altars[b] wreathed with gold crowns; on one of these, four gold torches fifteen feet long were affixed. And two gilded braziers were also carried in the procession, of which one was eighteen feet in circumference and sixty in height, the other measured twenty-two and a half feet. There were also nine Delphic tripods of gold of six feet each, eight more of nine feet, another of forty-five feet; on this were figures in gold seven and a half feet high, and a vine-wreath of gold encircled it. There went by also seven gilded palm-trees twelve feet high and a gilded herald's staff sixty-seven and a half feet long, a gilded thunderbolt sixty feet long, also a gilded temple measuring sixty feet all round; there was a double horn in addition, twelve feet high. A very large number of gilded figures were in the procession, the most of which were eighteen feet high; and there were figures of wild beasts of extraordinary size, and eagles thirty feet high.

[a] In contradistinction to the gold effigy!

[b] See cr. note.

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[3] δὲ A: δ' ("four") Schweighäuser: δ' ε' ("and five") Meineke.

χρυσοῖ ἐπόμπευσαν τρισχίλιοι διακόσιοι, ἕτερός τε
μυστικὸς[1] χρυσοῦς λίθοις πολυτελέσι κεκοσμημένος
ὀγδοηκοντάπηχυς· οὗτος δὲ περιετίθετο τῷ τοῦ
Βερενικείου θυρώματι· αἰγίς τε ὁμοίως χρυσῆ.
ἐπόμπευσαν δὲ καὶ στεφάναι χρυσαῖ πάνυ πολλαί,
ἃς ἔφερον παιδίσκαι πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημέναι· ὧν
μία δίπηχυς εἰς ὕψος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον ἔχουσα
ἑκκαίδεκα πηχῶν. ἐπόμπευσε δὲ καὶ θώραξ
e χρυσοῦς πηχῶν δώδεκα καὶ ἕτερος ἀργυροῦς πηχῶν
ιη´,[2] ἔχων ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κεραυνοὺς χρυσοῦς δεκαπήχεις
δύο καὶ στέφανον δρυὸς διάλιθον. ἀσπίδες
χρυσαῖ εἴκοσι, πανοπλίαι χρυσαῖ ξδ´, κνημῖδες
χρυσαῖ τριπήχεις β´, λεκάναι χρυσαῖ δεκαδύο,
φιάλαι πολλαὶ πάνυ τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἰνοχόαι τριάκοντα,
ἐξάλειπτρα[3] μεγάλα δέκα, ὑδρίαι δεκαδύο,
μαζονόμια πεντήκοντα, τράπεζαι διάφοροι, κυλικεῖα
f χρυσωμάτων πέντε, κέρας ὁλόχρυσον πηχῶν λ´.
ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρυσώματα ἐκτὸς ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ
Διονύσου πομπῇ διενεχθέντων. εἶτ᾽ ἀργυρωμάτων
ἅμαξαι τετρακόσιαι καὶ χρυσωμάτων εἴκοσι,
ἀρωμάτων δὲ ὀκτακόσιαι. ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐπόμπευσαν
αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἱππικαὶ καὶ πεζικαί, πᾶσαι
καθωπλισμέναι θαυμασίως. πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς πέντε
203 μυριάδας καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους,
ἱππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι τρισχίλιοι διακόσιοι. πάντες
δ᾽ οὗτοι ἐπόμπευσαν τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν ἑκάστῳ
ἠμφιεσμένοι στολὴν καὶ τὰς προσηκούσας ἔχοντες
πανοπλίας. ἐκτὸς δ᾽ ὧν πάντες οὗτοι εἶχον
πανοπλιῶν καὶ ἄλλαι πλεῖσται ἦσαν ἀποκείμεναι,
ὧν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναγράψαι ῥᾴδιον.” κατ-

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[1] μυστικὸς A: μύρτινος (?) Kaibel.

[2] ἐννέα after ιη´ deleted by Musurus.

Three thousand two hundred gold crowns were shown in the procession, and there was another mystic[a] crown of gold one hundred and twenty feet in circumference, adorned with precious stones; this was hung round the portal of Berenice's shrine; there was similarly a gold aegis. And there were also very many gold diadems in the procession, carried by girls richly dressed; one diadem was three feet high, and it had a perimeter of twenty-four feet. There was paraded also a gold breastplate eighteen feet in length, and another of silver, twenty-seven feet, with two gold thunderbolts on it fifteen feet long, and an oak crown of gold studded with jewels. Twenty gold shields, sixty-four suits of armour in gold, two pairs of gold greaves four and a half feet long, twelve gold hods, saucer-shaped cups in very great number, thirty wine-pitchers, ten large ointment-holders, twelve water-jars, fifty bread-platters, various tables, five stands of gold vessels, a horn of solid gold forty-five feet long. And these articles of gold were exclusive of those carried by in the division of Dionysus. Further, there were four hundred cartloads of silver vessels, twenty of gold vessels, and eight hundred of spices. After all these marched the cavalry and infantry forces, all wonderfully armed *cap-à-pie*. The infantry numbered about 57,600, the cavalry 23,200. All of these marched dressed in the garments proper to each, and in their appropriate panoply. But beside the panoplies worn by all these troops, there were very many others stored in chests, of which it is not easy to set down even the number." Yet Callixeinus

[a] Or "myrtle"; see critical note.

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[3] *ἐξάλειπτρα* Hemsterhuys: *ἐξ ἄλειπτρα* A.

ἔλεξε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλίξεινος. "ἐστεφανώθησαν
δ' ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς εἴκοσι[1]·
Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ Βερενίκη εἰκόσι[2]
τρισὶν ἐφ' ἁρμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐν
Δωδώνῃ. καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ δαπάνημα τοῦ[3] νομίσματος
b τάλαντα δισχίλια διακόσια τριάκοντα
ἐννέα, μναῖ πεντήκοντα· καὶ ταῦτ' ἠριθμήθη πάντα
τοῖς οἰκονόμοις διὰ τὴν τῶν στεφανούντων προθυμίαν
πρὸ τοῦ τὰς θέας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ Φιλάδελφος
Πτολεμαῖος υἱὸς αὐτῶν εἰκόσι[2] χρυσαῖς
δυσὶ μὲν ἐφ' ἁρμάτων χρυσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ κιόνων
ἑξαπήχει μιᾷ, πενταπήχεσι πέντε, τετραπήχεσι ἕξ."

Ποία,[4] ἄνδρες δαιτυμόνες, βασιλεία οὕτως γέγονε
πολύχρυσος; οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ
c Βαβυλῶνος λαβοῦσα χρήματα ἢ μέταλλα ἐργασαμένη
ἢ Πακτωλὸν ἔχουσα χρυσοῦ[5] ψῆγμα καταφέροντα.
μόνος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ χρυσορόας
καλούμενος Νεῖλος μετὰ τροφῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ
χρυσὸν ἀκίβδηλον καταφέρει ἀκινδύνως γεωργούμενον,
ὡς πᾶσιν ἐξαρκεῖν ἀνθρώποις, δίκην
Τριπτολέμου πεμπόμενον εἰς πᾶσαν γῆν. διόπερ
αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Βυζάντιος ποιητὴς Παρμένων ἐπικαλούμενος
"Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ, φησί, Νεῖλε." πολ-

[1] εἴκοσι A: καὶ εἰκόσι Kaibel, "and with portrait-statues as well."

[2] εἰκόσι Cobet: εἴκοσι A.

[3] For τοῦ Kaibel conj. ἡμεδαποῦ or Ῥοδίου.

[4] ποία A: ποία οὖν C.

[5] χρυσοῦ Meyer: χρυσοῦν A; *cf.* 233 d, 201 a, Herod. iv. 195.

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[a] Ptolemy Soter.

[b] Or "in currency of our country" (Rhodes, Callixeinus being a Rhodian); see critical note.

gave the list. "And in the games twenty persons were crowned with gold crowns; Ptolemy[a] was first, then Berenice, who were honoured with three portrait-statues in gold chariots, and with precincts at Dodona. The total expense, in currency,[b] amounted to two thousand, two hundred and thirty-nine talents and fifty minas[c]; and all this sum was paid in to the managing officials before the exhibition was over, through the enthusiastic zeal of those who gave the crowns. And their son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, was awarded two gold portrait-statues, in gold chariots, mounted on columns, one of nine feet, five of seven and a half feet, and six of six feet."

What monarchy, fellow-banqueters, has ever been so rich in gold? Surely not any that appropriated the wealth of Persia or Babylon, or that had mines to work, or that owned the Pactolus river, washing down gold-dust. No; for it is only the Nile, the river truly called "gold-flowing," that with its boundless crops of food actually washes down unadulterated gold which is harvested with no risk, so that it can supply all men sufficiently;[d] being, like Triptolemus, sent forth into every land. For this reason the Byzantian poet by the name of Parmenon says[e] "Thou Nile, Egypt's Zeus!"

[c] About £720,000.

[d] The meaning is that the fertilizing waters of the Nile are the cause of crops which equal gold in value. The only river that was called "gold-flowing" *before* the time of Athenaeus seems to have been the river of Damascus. Hence it is not to the point to quote Gregory Nazianzen, who lived in the century *after* Athenaeus (*Or.* xxi. 1116 Migne): *ποιητοῦ δ' ἦν ἄρα καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον εἰπεῖν τὸν χρυσορρόαν ὄντως καὶ εὔσταχυν*. Athenaeus merely says that it *should have been* so called.

[e] Frag. 3 Powell, *cf.* Athen. 221 a, 563 d.

λῶν δὲ ὁ Φιλάδελφος βασιλέων πλούτῳ διέφερε
καὶ περὶ πάντα ἐσπουδάκει τὰ κατασκευάσματα
d φιλοτίμως, ὥστε καὶ πλοίων πλήθει πάντας ὑπερέβαλλεν.
τὰ γοῦν μέγιστα τῶν πλοίων ἦν παρ᾽
αὐτῷ τριακοντήρεις δύο, εἰκοσήρης μία, τέσσαρες
δὲ τρισκαιδεκήρεις, δωδεκήρεις δύο, ἑνδεκήρεις
δεκατέσσαρες, ἐννήρεις λʹ, ἑπτήρεις λζʹ, ἑξήρεις
εʹ, πεντήρεις δεκαεπτά· τὰ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τετρήρους
μέχρι τριηρημιολίας διπλάσια τούτων. τὰ δ᾽ εἰς
τὰς νήσους πεμπόμενα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὧν
ἦρχε καὶ τὴν Λιβύην πλείονα ἦν τῶν τετρακισχιλίων.
e περὶ δὲ βιβλίων πλήθους καὶ βιβλιοθηκῶν
κατασκευῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον
συναγωγῆς τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, πᾶσι τούτων ὄντων
κατὰ μνήμην;

Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ νεῶν κατασκευῆς εἰρήκαμεν, φέρ᾽
εἴπωμεν (ἀκοῆς γάρ ἐστιν ἄξια) καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ
τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος βασιλέως κατεσκευασμένα σκάφη.
περὶ ὧν ὁ αὐτὸς Καλλίξεινος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ
περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας οὑτωσὶ λέγων· "τὴν τεσσαρακοντήρη
ναῦν κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ τὸ
μῆκος ἔχουσαν διακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα πηχῶν,
ὀκτὼ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἀπὸ παρόδου ἐπὶ πάροδον,
f ὕψος δὲ ἕως ἀκροστολίου τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ
πηχῶν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πρυμνητικῶν ἀφλάστων
ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς[1] τῇ θαλάσσῃ μέρος αὐτῆς τρεῖς πρὸς
τοῖς πεντήκοντα πήχεις. πηδάλια δ᾽ εἶχε τέτταρα

[1] πρὸς C : om. A : ὑπὸ Kaibel.

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[a] The mechanical difficulties involved in assuming thirty or even three rowers seated or standing in a vertical line are obvious, and best discussed by Bauer, *Griech. Kriegsaltertümer*, 363 ff. The supposition that there were thirty men to an oar does not remove the difficulties, and is not

Philadelphus surpassed many kings in wealth, and devoted himself with enthusiastic zeal to all his establishments, so that he surpassed all others in the number of his ships as well. At any rate, the largest ships owned by him were: two with thirty banks[a] of oars, one with twenty, four with thirteen, two with twelve, fourteen with eleven, thirty with nine, thirty-seven with seven, five with six, and seventeen with five. But the number of ships with rowers ranging from four banks to one and a half was double the others. The ships dispatched to the islands and the other states over which he ruled, as well as to Libya, numbered more than four thousand. And concerning the number of books, the establishing of libraries, and the collection in the Hall of the Muses, why need I even speak, since they are in all men's memories?

But since we are on the subject of naval equipment, come, let us speak also of the ships constructed by King Ptolemy Philopator, for they are worth hearing about. The same Callixeinus gives an account of these in the first book of his work *On Alexandria*, in these words[b]: "Philopator constructed his forty-bank ship with a length of four hundred and twenty feet[c]; its beam from gangway to gangway[d] was fifty-seven feet; its height to the gunwale was seventy-two feet. From the top of the stern-post to the water-line it measured seventy-nine and a half feet. It had four steering-oars,

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supported by any ancient author. See C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*.

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 55.

[c] The Athenian trireme had a length at the water-line of not over one hundred and twenty feet.

[d] The πάροδος was a gangway running from bow to stern on each side.

204 τριακονταπήχη, κώπας δὲ θρανιτικὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ
τριάκοντα πηχῶν τὰς μεγίστας, αἳ διὰ τὸ μόλυβδον
ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγχειριδίοις καὶ γεγονέναι λίαν
εἴσω βαρεῖαι κατὰ τὴν ζύγωσιν εὐήρεις ὑπῆρχον
ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας. δίπρῳρος δ' ἐγεγόνει καὶ δίπρυμνος
καὶ ἔμβολα εἶχεν ἑπτά· τούτων ἓν μὲν
ἡγούμενον, τὰ δ' ὑποστέλλοντα, τινὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς
ἐπωτίδας. ὑποζώματα δὲ ἐλάμβανε δώδεκα· ἑξακοσίων
δ' ἦν ἕκαστον πηχῶν. εὔρυθμος δ' ἦν
καθ' ὑπερβολήν. θαυμαστὸς δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ ἄλλος
κόσμος τῆς νεώς· ζῷα μὲν γὰρ εἶχεν οὐκ ἐλάττω
b δώδεκα πηχῶν κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ κατὰ πρῷραν,
καὶ πᾶς τόπος αὐτῆς κηρογραφίᾳ κατεπεποίκιλτο,
τὸ δ' ἔγκωπον ἅπαν μέχρι τῆς τρόπεως κισσίνην
φυλλάδα καὶ θύρσους εἶχε πέριξ. πολὺς δ' ἦν
καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅπλων κόσμος, ἀνεπλήρου δὲ πάντα[1]
τὰ προσδεόμενα τῆς νεὼς μέρη. γενομένης δὲ
ἀναπείρας ἐδέξατο ἐρέτας πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων,
εἰς δὲ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τετρακοσίους·
εἰς δὲ τὸ κατάστρωμα ἐπιβάτας τρισχιλίους
ἀποδέοντας ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· καὶ χωρὶς
ὑπὸ τὰ ζύγια πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἕτερον ἐπισιτισμοῦ[2]
c τε οὐκ ὀλίγον. καθειλκύσθη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ
ἐσχαρίου τινός, ὅ φασι παγῆναι πεντήκοντα
πλοίων πεντηρικῶν ξυλείᾳ, ὑπὸ δὲ ὄχλου μετὰ
βοῆς καὶ σαλπίγγων κατήγετο. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν
ἀπὸ Φοινίκης τις ἐπενόησε τὴν καθολκήν, τάφρον

[1] πάντα added by Schweighäuser.
[2] ἐπισιτισμοῦ Casaubon: ἐπισιτισμούς A.

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[a] Since the ship was 420 ft. long and these cables were

forty-five feet long, and the oars of the topmost rowers, which are the longest, measured fifty-seven feet; these, since they carried lead on the handles and were very heavy inboard, were yet easy to handle in actual use because of their nice balance. It had a double bow and a double stern, and carried seven rams; one of these was the leader, others were of gradually diminishing size, some being mounted at the catheads. It carried twelve under-girders, each of them measuring nine hundred feet.[a] It was extraordinarily well proportioned. Wonderful also was the adornment of the vessel besides; for it had figures at stern and bow not less than eighteen feet high, and every available space was elaborately covered with encaustic painting; the entire surface where the oars projected, down to the keel, had a pattern of ivy-leaves and Bacchic wands. Rich also was the equipment in armament, and it satisfied all the requirements of the various parts of the ship.[b] On a trial voyage it took more than four thousand men to man the oars, and four hundred reserves[c]; to man the deck there were two thousand eight hundred and fifty marines; and besides, below decks was another complement of men and provisions in no small quantity. At the beginning it was launched from a kind of cradle which, they say, was put together from the timbers of fifty five-bank ships, and it was pulled into the water by a crowd, to the accompaniment of shouts and trumpets. Later, however, a Phoenician conceived the method

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900 ft., this passage would seem to prove decisively that the girders ran outside the ship from bow to stern. See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxii. 173 ff.

[b] lit. "all the requiring parts"; see critical note.

[c] Or "men to manage the sails and rigging."

ὑποστησάμενος ἴσην τῇ νηὶ κατὰ μῆκος, ἣν
πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος ὤρυξε. ταύτῃ δὲ τοὺς
θεμελίους κατῳκοδόμησε λίθῳ στερεῷ πρὸς πέντε
πήχεις τὸ βάθος, καὶ διὰ τούτων φάλαγγας
ἐπικαρσίας κατὰ πλάτος τῆς τάφρου διώσας
συνεχεῖς τετράπηχυν εἰς βάθος τόπον ἀπολειπούσας.
d καὶ ποιήσας εἴσρουν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνέπλησεν
αὐτῆς πάντα τὸν ὀρυχθέντα τόπον, εἰς ὃν ῥᾳδίως
ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνδρῶν εἰσήγαγε τὴν ναῦν·
. . .[1] τὸ ἀνοιχθὲν κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐμφράξαντας μετεξαντλῆσαι
πάλιν τὴν θάλασσαν ὀργάνοις. τούτου δὲ
γενομένου ἑδρασθῆναι τὸ πλοῖον ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ
τῶν προειρημένων φαλάγγων.

Κατεσκεύασεν δ’ ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ καὶ ποτάμιον
πλοῖον, τὴν θαλαμηγὸν καλουμένην, τὸ μῆκος
ἔχουσαν ἡμισταδίου, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ᾗ πλατύτατον
e λ´ πηχῶν· τὸ δὲ ὕψος σὺν τῷ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀναστήματι
μικρὸν ἀπέδει τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν.
τὸ δὲ σχῆμα αὐτῆς οὔτε ταῖς μακραῖς ναυσὶν
οὔτε ταῖς στρογγύλαις ἐοικός, ἀλλὰ παρηλλαγμένον
τι[2] καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ
βάθος. κάτωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἁλιτενὴς καὶ πλατεῖα,
τῷ δ’ ὄγκῳ μετέωρος· τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς
μέρη καὶ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ πρῷραν παρέτεινεν
ἐφ’ ἱκανόν, τῆς ἀνακλάσεως εὐγράμμου φαινομένης.
δίπρῳρος δ’ ἐγεγόνει καὶ δίπρυμνος καὶ
πρὸς ὕψος ἀνέτεινε διὰ τὸ μετέωρον ἄγαν ἵστασθαι
f πολλάκις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ κῦμα. κατεσκεύαστο
δ’ αὐτῆς κατὰ μὲν μέσον τὸ κύτος τὰ συμπόσια

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[1] εἶτα added by Casaubon to fill the gap, but more is needed to make the account clear.

[2] τι Cramer: τε A.

of launching by digging a trench under the ship near the harbour, equal in length to the ship. He constructed for this trench foundations of solid stone seven and a half feet in depth, and from one end of these foundations to the other he fixed in a row skids,[a] which ran transversely to the stones across the width of the trench, leaving a space below them six feet deep. And having dug a sluice from the sea, he let the sea into all the excavated space, filling it full; into this space he easily brought the vessel, with the help of unskilled men; . . . .when they had barred the entrance which had been opened at the beginning, they again pumped out the sea-water with engines. And when this had been done, the ship rested securely on the skids before-mentioned.

"Philopator also constructed a river boat, the so-called 'cabin-carrier,'[b] having a length of three hundred feet, and a beam at the broadest part of forty-five feet. The height, including the pavilion when it was raised, was little short of sixty feet. Its shape was neither like that of the war galleys nor like that of the round-bottomed merchantmen, but had been altered somewhat in draught to suit its use on the river. For below the water-line it was flat and broad, but in its bulk it rose high in the air; and the top parts of its sides, especially near the bow, extended in a considerable overhang, with a backward curve very graceful in appearance. It had a double bow and a double stern which projected upward to a high point, because the waves in the river often rise very high. The hold amidships was constructed with saloons for dining-parties,

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[a] Or "rollers."

[b] The barge of state.

καὶ οἱ κοιτῶνες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν διαγωγὴν
χρηστήρια. πέριξ δὲ τῆς νεὼς περίπατοι
κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς πλευρὰς ἐγεγόνεσαν διπλοῖ. ὧν
ἡ μὲν περίμετρος ἦν πέντε πλέθρων οὐκ ἐλάττων,
205 ἡ δὲ διάθεσις τοῦ μὲν καταγείου περιστύλῳ
παραπλήσιος, τοῦ δ' ὑπερῴου κρύπτῃ φραγμοῖς
καὶ θυρίσι περιεχομένῃ[1] πάντοθεν. πρῶτον δ'
εἰσιόντι κατὰ πρύμναν ἐτέτακτο προστὰς[2] ἐξ
ἐναντίου μὲν ἀναπεπταμένη, κύκλῳ δὲ περίπτερος·
ἧς ἐν τῷ καταντικρὺ τῆς πρῴρας μέρει προπύλαιον
κατεσκεύαστο δι' ἐλέφαντος καὶ τῆς
πολυτελεστάτης ὕλης γεγονός. τοῦτο δὲ διελθοῦσιν
ὡσανεὶ προσκήνιον ἐπεποίητο τῇ διαθέσει
κατάστεγον ὄν. ᾧ[3] πάλιν ὁμοίως κατὰ μὲν τὴν
μέσην πλευρὰν προστὰς[2] ἑτέρα παρέκειτο ὄπισθεν,
b καὶ τετράθυρος ἔφερεν εἰς αὐτὴν πυλών. ἐξ
ἀριστερῶν δὲ καὶ δεξιῶν θυρίδες ὑπέκειντο εὐάειαν[4]
παρέχουσαι. συνῆπτο[5] δὲ τούτοις ὁ μέγιστος
οἶκος· περίπτερος δ' ἦν εἴκοσι κλίνας ἐπιδεχόμενος.
κατεσκεύαστο δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἀπὸ
κέδρου σχιστῆς[6] καὶ κυπαρίσσου Μιλησίας· αἱ
δὲ τῆς περιστάσεως θύραι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἴκοσι
οὖσαι θυίναις κατεκεκόλληντο σανίσιν, ἐλεφαντίνους
ἔχουσαι τοὺς κόσμους. ἡ δ' ἐνήλωσις ἡ
κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ῥόπτρα ἐξ ἐρυθροῦ
γεγονότα χαλκοῦ τὴν χρύσωσιν ἐκ πυρὸς εἰλήφει.
c τῶν δὲ κιόνων τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν κυπαρίσσινα,

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[1] κρύπτῃ . . . περιεχομένῃ Schweighäuser: κρυπτὴ . . . περιεχομένη A. [2] προστὰς Villebrun: πρὸς τὰ A.

[3] κατάστεγον ὄν. ᾧ Kaibel: κατάστεγον· νωι A.

[4] εὐάειαν Casaubon: εὐαγειαν A.

[5] συνῆπτο Schweighäuser: συνήγετο A. *Cf.* below, d.

[6] σχιστῆς A: Συριακῆς Meineke.

with berths, and with all the other conveniences of living. Round the ship, on three sides, ran double promenades.[a] The perimeter of one of these measured not less than five furlongs. The structure of the one below decks resembled a peristyle; that of the one on the upper deck was like a concealed peristyle[b] built up all round with walls and windows. As one first came on board at the stern, there was set a vestibule open in front, but having a row of columns on the sides; in the part which faced the bow was built a fore-gate, constructed of ivory and the most expensive wood. Entering this, one came upon a kind of proscenium,[c] which in its construction had been roofed over. Matching the fore-gate, again, a second vestibule lay aft at the transverse side,[d] and a portal with four doors led into it. On both sides, left and right, portholes were set beneath to provide good ventilation. Connected with these entrances was the largest cabin; it had a single row of columns all round, and could hold twenty couches. The most of it was made of split[e] cedar and Milesian[f] cypress; the surrounding doors, numbering twenty, had panels of fragrant cedar nicely glued together, with ornamentation in ivory. The decorative studs covering their surface, and the handles as well, were made of red copper, which had been gilded in the fire. As for the columns, their shafts were of cypress-wood, while the capitals, of the Corinthian

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[a] *i.e.* on upper and lower deck.

[b] cryptoporticus.

[c] lit., the front wall of the scene-building in a theatre, facing the audience.

[d] *i.e.* the quarter-deck, the "side" connecting the two lateral decks.

[e] Or Syrian; see critical note.

[f] Probably the Miletus in Cyprus is meant.

αἱ δὲ κεφαλαὶ Κορινθιουργεῖς, ἐλέφαντι καὶ
χρυσῷ διακεκοσμημέναι. τὸ δὲ ἐπιστύλιον ἐκ
χρυσοῦ τὸ ὅλον· ἐφ' οὗ διάζωσμα ἐφήρμοστο
περιφανῆ ζῴδια ἔχον ἐλεφάντινα μείζω πηχυαίων,
τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ μέτρια, τῇ χορηγίᾳ δὲ ἀξιοθαύμαστα.
ἐπέκειτο δὲ καὶ στέγη καλὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ τετράγωνος
κυπαρισσίνη· γλυπτοὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἦσαν οἱ
κόσμοι, χρυσῆν ἔχοντες τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. παρέκειτο
δὲ τῷ συμποσίῳ τούτῳ καὶ κοιτὼν ἑπτάκλινος·
d ᾧ συνῆπτο στενὴ σῦριγξ, κατὰ πλάτος
τοῦ κύτους χωρίζουσα τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν. ἐν δὲ
ταύτῃ συμπόσιον ἐννεάκλινον ἦν, παραπλήσιον
τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ κοιτὼν πεντάκλινος.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι τῆς πρώτης στέγης κατεσκευασμένα
τοιαῦτ' ἦν. ἀναβάντων δὲ τὰς παρακειμένας
πλησίον τῷ προειρημένῳ κοιτῶνι κλίμακας οἶκος
ἦν ἄλλος πεντάκλινος ὀρόφωμα ῥομβωτὸν ἔχων·
καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης θολοειδής,
e ἐν ᾧ μαρμάρινον ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ. κατεναντίον
δὲ τούτου ἄλλο συμπόσιον πολυτελὲς περίπτερον·
οἱ γὰρ κίονες αὐτοῦ ἐκ λίθων Ἰνδικῶν συνέκειντο.
παρὰ δὲ[1] καὶ τούτῳ τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιτῶνες,
ἀκόλουθον τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις
ἔχοντες. προάγοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πρῷραν οἶκος
ὑπέκειτο Βακχικὸς τρισκαιδεκάκλινος περίπτερος,
ἐπίχρυσον ἔχων τὸ γεῖσον ἕως τοῦ περιτρέχοντος
ἐπιστυλίου· στέγη δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως
f οἰκεία. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ μὲν τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν
ἄντρον κατεσκεύαστο, οὗ χρῶμα μὲν ἦν ἔχον τὴν

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[1] δὲ added by Casaubon.

order, were entirely covered with ivory and gold. The whole entablature was in gold; over it was affixed a frieze with striking figures in ivory, more than a foot and a half tall, mediocre in workmanship, to be sure, but remarkable in their lavish display. Over the dining-saloon was a beautiful coffered ceiling of cypress wood; the ornamentations on it were sculptured, with a surface of gilt. Next to this dining-saloon was a sleeping apartment with seven berths, adjoining which was a narrow passage-way running transversely from one side of the hold to the other, and dividing off the women's quarters. In the latter was a dining-saloon, with nine couches, which was similar to the large saloon in magnificence, and a sleeping-apartment with five berths.

"Now the arrangements up to the first deck were as described. Ascending the companion-way, which adjoined the sleeping-apartment last mentioned, was another cabin large enough for five couches, having a ceiling with lozenge-shaped panels; near it was a rotunda-shaped shrine of Aphrodite, in which was a marble statue of the goddess. Opposite to this was a sumptuous dining-saloon surrounded by a row of columns, which were built of marble from India. Beside this dining-saloon were sleeping-rooms having arrangements which corresponded to those mentioned before. As one proceeded toward the bow he came upon a chamber devoted to Dionysus, large enough for thirteen couches, and surrounded by a row of columns; it had a cornice which was gilded as far as the architrave surrounding the room; the ceiling was appropriate to the spirit of the god. In this chamber, on the starboard side, a recess was built; externally, it showed a stone fabric artistically made

πετροποιίαν ἐκ λίθων ἀληθινῶν[1] καὶ χρυσοῦ δεδημιουργημένην· ἵδρυτο δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν βασιλέωι συγγενείας ἀγάλματα εἰκονικὰ λίθου λυχνέως. ἐπιτερπὲς δ᾽ ἱκανῶς καὶ ἄλλο συμπόσιον ἦν ἐπὶ
206 τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου οἴκου στέγῃ κείμενον, σκηνῆς ἔχον τάξιν· ᾧ στέγη μὲν[2] οὐκ ἐπῆν, διατόναια δὲ τοξοειδῆ διὰ ποσοῦ τινος ἐνετέτατο[3] διαστήματος, ἐφ᾽ ὧν αὐλαῖαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἁλουργεῖς ἐνεπετάννυντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο[4] αἴθριον ἐξεδέχετο τὴν ἐπάνω τῆς ὑποκειμένης προστάδος τάξιν κατέχον· ᾧ κλῖμάξ τε ἑλικτὴ φέρουσα πρὸς τὸν κρυπτὸν περίπατον παρέκειτο καὶ συμπόσιον ἐννεάκλινον, τῇ διαθέσει τῆς κατασκευῆς Αἰγύπτιον. οἱ γὰρ γεγονότες αὐτόθι κίονες ἀνήγοντο στρογγύλοι, διαλλάττοντες τοῖς σπονδύλοις, τοῦ
b μὲν μέλανος, τοῦ δὲ λευκοῦ παράλληλα[5] τιθεμένων. εἰσὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῷ σχήματι περιφερεῖς, ὧν ἡ μὲν ὅλη περιγραφὴ παραπλησία ῥόδοις ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἀναπεπταμένοις ἐστίν. περὶ δὲ τὸν προσαγορευόμενον κάλαθον οὐχ ἕλικες, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ φύλλα τραχέα περίκειται, λωτῶν δὲ ποταμίων κάλυκες καὶ φοινίκων ἀρτιβλάστων καρπός· ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ πλειόνων ἄλλων ἀνθέων γέγλυπται γένη. τὸ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τὴν ῥίζαν, ὃ δὴ τῷ συνάπτοντι πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπίκειται σπονδύλῳ, κιβωρίων ἄνθεσι καὶ φύλλοις ὡσανεὶ καταπεπλεγμένοις ὁμοίαν
c εἶχε τὴν διάθεσιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κίονας οὕτως

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[1] ἀληθινῶν A: ἀχατῶν Schweighäuser.
[2] ᾧ στέγη μὲν Emperius: ὥστε τῆι μὲν A.
[3] ἐνετέτατο Casaubon: ἐντέτακτο A.

of real jewels[a] and gold; enshrined in it were portrait-statues of the royal family in Parian marble. Very delightful, too, was another dining-saloon built on the roof of the largest cabin in the manner of an awning; this had no roof, but curtain rods shaped like bows extended over it for a certain distance, and on these, when the ship was under way, purple curtains were spread out. Next after this was an open deck[b] which occupied the space directly over the vestibule extending below it; a circular companion-way extending from this deck led to the covered promenade and the dining-saloon with nine couches. This was Egyptian in the style of its construction; for the columns built at this point bulged as they ascended, and the drums differed, one being black and another white, placed alternately. Some of their capitals are circular in shape; the entire figure described by them resembles rose-blossoms slightly opened. But around the part which is called the 'basket'[c] there are no volutes or rough[d] leaves laid on, as on Greek capitals, but calyxes of water-lilies and the fruit of freshly-budded date-palms; in some instances several other kinds of flowers are sculptured thereon. The part below the root of the capital, which, of course, rests upon the drum adjoining it, had a motif that was similar; it was composed of flowers and leaves of Egyptian beans, as it were, intertwined. This is the way in

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[a] Or "agates'; see critical note.

[b] Or possibly "atrium."

[c] The part of the column which spreads out between shaft and entablature.

[d] *i.e.* acanthus.

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[4] *τοῦτο* Casaubon: *τοῦτον* A.

[5] *παραλλὰξ* (?) Kaibel.

Αἰγύπτιοι κατασκευάζουσι· καὶ τοὺς τοίχους δὲ λευκαῖς καὶ μελαίναις διαποικίλλουσι πλινθίσιν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλαβαστίτιδος προσαγορευομένης πέτρας. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα κατὰ μέσον τῆς νεὼς τὸ κύτος ἐν κοίλῃ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν αὐτῆς μέρος οἰκήματα ἦν. ὁ δὲ ἱστὸς ἦν αὐτῆς ἑβδομήκοντα πηχῶν, βύσσινον ἔχων ἱστίον ἁλουργεῖ παρασείῳ[1] κεκοσμημένον.”

Πᾶς δ᾽ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου πλοῦτος d τοσοῦτον χρόνον[2] φυλαχθεὶς κατελύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ τὸν Γαβινιακὸν συστησαμένου πόλεμον, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς γενομένου ἀλλ᾽ αὐλητοῦ καὶ μάγου.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος τοῦ Συρακοσίου κατασκευασθείσης νεώς, ἧς καὶ Ἀρχιμήδης ἦν ὁ γεωμέτρης ἐπόπτης, οὐκ ἄξιον εἶναι κρίνω σιωπῆσαι, σύγγραμμα ἐκδόντος Μοσχίωνός τινος, ᾧ οὐ παρέργως ἐνέτυχον ὑπογυίως. γράφει οὖν[3] ὁ Μοσχίων οὕτως· “Διοκλείδης[4] μὲν ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης θαυμάζεται[5] ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ῥοδίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου προσαχθείσῃ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἑλεπόλει, e Τίμαιος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ τῇ κατασκευασθείσῃ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ, καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ἐπὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης ᾗ συνέβαινε κατακομισθῆναι τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα, Πολύκλειτος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ λυχνίῳ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι

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[1] παρασείῳ Passow: παρασείρωι A.

[2] τοσοῦτον χρόνον added by Kaibel.

[3] οὖν Musurus: γοῦν A.

[4] The passage is mutilated, and it is strange that the *descriptions* written by other authors should be compared with Hieron *himself* or his naval architects. For Ῥοδίων πόλιν we should probably read Ῥοδίων πολιόρκησιν, “brought to

which Egyptians construct their columns; and the walls, too, they vary with alternating white and black courses of stone, but sometimes, also, they build them of the rock called alabaster. And there were many other rooms in the hollow of the ship's hold through its entire extent. Its mast had a height of one hundred and five feet, with a sail of fine linen reinforced by a purple topsail."

All the wealth of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, after being retained for so long a period, was dissipated by the last Ptolemy, the same who got up the Gabinian war[a]; he was not a man, but a flute-player and juggler.

With regard to the construction of the ship built by Hieron of Syracuse, which was superintended by the mathematician Archimedes, I hold it not right to be silent, since a certain Moschion has published a treatise on it which I have recently read with care. Moschion, then, writes as follows: "Diocleides of Abdera is admired for his description[b] of the siege-engine which was brought to bear against the walls of the city of Rhodes by Demetrius[c]; Timaeus, for his description of the funeral pyre built for Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily; Hieronymus, for his account of the carriage built to convey the body of Alexander[d]; Polycleitus, for the description of the chandelier

[a] 58–55 B.C.; he was known as Ptolemy Auletes, but he was not the last Ptolemy.

[b] See critical note.

[c] Demetrius Poliorcetes, who captured Rhodes in 304 B.C. after a siege which lasted a year.

[d] From Babylon to Alexandria, 323 B.C.

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bear against the walls for the prosecution of the siege of Rhodes." The engine was built by Epimachus of Athens.

[5] *θαυμάζεται* A: *θαυμαζέτω* Ritschl, *Opusc.* i. 469 ff.

τῷ Πέρσῃ. Ἱέρων δὲ ὁ Συρακοσίων βασιλεύς, ὁ πάντα Ῥωμαίοις φίλος, ἐσπουδάκει μὲν καὶ περὶ ἱερῶν καὶ γυμνασίων κατασκευάς, ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ ναυπηγίας φιλότιμος, πλοῖα σιτηγὰ κατασκευαζόμενος, ὧν ἑνὸς τῆς κατασκευῆς μνη-
f σθήσομαι. εἰς ὕλην μὲν ξύλωσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης παρεσκεύαστο ἑξήκοντα τετρηρικῶν[1] σκαφῶν πλῆθος ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένην. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἡτοιμάσατο γόμφους τε καὶ ἐγκοίλια καὶ σταμῖνας καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην χρείαν ὕλην[2] τὴν μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, τὴν δ' ἐκ Σικελίας, εἰς δὲ σχοινία λευκέαν μὲν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, κάνναβιν δὲ καὶ πίτταν[3] ἐκ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ χρειώδη πολλαχόθεν. συνήγαγε δὲ καὶ ναυπηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τεχνίτας καὶ καταστήσας ἐκ πάντων Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀρχιτέκτονα παρ-
207 εκάλεσε προθύμως ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς κατασκευῆς, προσκαρτερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμέρας. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς τῆς νεὼς ἐν μησὶν ἓξ ἐξειργάσατο[4] . . . καὶ ταῖς ἐκ μολίβου ποιηθείσαις κεραμίσιν ἀεὶ καθ' ὃ ναυπηγηθείη μέρος περιελαμβάνετο, ὡς ἂν τριακοσίων ὄντων τῶν τὴν ὕλην ἐργαζομένων τεχνιτῶν χωρὶς τῶν ὑπηρετούντων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ μέρος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν
b καθέλκειν προσετέτακτο, τὴν λοιπὴν κατασκευὴν ἵν' ἐκεῖ λαμβάνῃ. ὡς δὲ περὶ τὸν καθελκυσμὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πολλὴ ζήτησις ἦν, Ἀρχιμήδης ὁ μηχανικὸς μόνος αὐτὸ κατήγαγε δι'

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[1] τετρηρικῶν Meineke: τετριηρικῶν A.

[2] χρείαν ὕλην Casaubon: ὕλην χρείαν AC.

[3] πίτταν Gesner: κιττὸν A.

[4] ἐξειργάσατο Schweighäuser: εἰργάσατο AC. A gap follows.

made for the Persian king.[a] But Hieron, the king of Syracuse, he who was in all respects friendly to Rome, not only interested himself in the building of temples and gymnasia, but was also a zealous shipbuilder, constructing wheat-transports, the construction of one of which I will proceed to describe. For material he caused timber to be brought from Aetna, enough in quantity for the building of sixty quadriremes. In keeping with this,[b] he caused to be prepared dowels, belly-timbers, stanchions, and all the material for general uses, partly from Italy, partly from Sicily; for cables hemp from Iberia, hemp and pitch from the river Rhone, and all other things needful from many places. He also got together shipwrights and all other kinds of artisans, and from them all he placed in charge the Corinthian Archias as architect, urging him to attack the construction zealously; and he personally applied himself diligently to the work during the days it required. One half, then, of the entire ship he finished in six months . . . and as each part of the ship was completed it was overlaid with tiling made of lead; for there were about three hundred artisans working on the materials, not including their assistants. This part of the ship, then, was ordered to be launched in the sea, that it might receive the finishing touches there. But after considerable discussion in regard to the method of pulling it into the water, Archimedes the mechanician alone was

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[a] What king is meant is unknown. For the historian Polycleitus of Larisa *cf.* Athen. 539 a.

[b] The text is defective, since *ὡς ἡτοιμάσατο* requires a main verb. Something like *ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ποιησόμενος* is required, "with the idea of carrying out this (huge) project."

ὀλίγων σωμάτων. κατασκευάσας γὰρ ἕλικα τὸ τηλικοῦτον σκάφος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήγαγε. πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχιμήδης εὗρε τὴν τῆς ἕλικος κατασκευήν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς νεὼς ἐν ἄλλοις ἓξ μησὶ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ τοῖς χαλκοῖς ἥλοις πᾶσα περιελήφθη, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ δεκάμνοοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τούτων ἡμιόλιοι—διὰ τρυπάνων δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ἡρμοσμένοι τοὺς σταμῖνας συνέχοντες· μολυβδίναις δὲ κεραμίσιν ἐπεστεγνοῦντο[1] πρὸς τὸ ξύλον, ὑποτιθεμένων ὀθονίων μετὰ πίττης—ὡς οὖν τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξειργάσατο, τὴν ἐντὸς διασκευὴν ἐξεπονεῖτο.

c Ἦν δὲ ἡ ναῦς τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ εἰκόσορος, τριπάροδος δέ· τὴν μὲν κατωτάτω ἔχων[2] ἐπὶ τὸν γόμον, ἐφ' ἣν διὰ κλιμάκων πυκνῶν ἡ κατάβασις ἐγίνετο· ἡ δ' ἑτέρα τοῖς εἰς τὰς διαίτας βουλομένοις εἰσιέναι ἐμεμηχάνητο· μεθ' ἣν ἡ τελευταία τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τεταγμένοις. ἦσαν δὲ τῆς μέσης παρόδου παρ' ἑκάτερον τῶν τοίχων δίαιται τετράκλινοι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, τριάκοντα τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ δὲ ναυκληρικὴ δίαιτα κλινῶν μὲν ἦν πεντεκαίδεκα, θαλάμους δὲ τρεῖς εἶχε τρικλίνους, ὧν ἦν τὸ κατὰ τὴν πρύμναν ὀπτανεῖον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δάπεδον εἶχεν ἐν ἀβακίσκοις συγκείμενον ἐκ παντοίων λίθων, ἐν οἷς ἦν κατεσκευασμένος πᾶς ὁ περὶ τὴν d Ἰλιάδα μῦθος θαυμασίως· ταῖς τε κατασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὀροφαῖς, καὶ θυρώμασι δὲ πάντα ἦν

[1] ἐπεστεγνοῦντο Kaibel: ἀπεστεγνοῦντο A.
[2] ἔχων A: ἔχουσα C (both corrupt).

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[a] As opposed to the open circular staircase 206 a; κλίμακες

able to launch it with the help of a few persons. For by the construction of a windlass he was able to launch a ship of so great proportions in the water. Archimedes was the first to invent the construction of the windlass. The remaining parts of the ship were completed in another period of six months; it was entirely secured with bronze rivets, most of which weighed ten pounds, while the rest were half as large again; these were fitted in place by means of augers, and held the stanchions together; fixed to the timbers was a sheath of leaden tiles, under which were strips of linen canvas covered with pitch. When, then, he had completed the outside surface, he proceeded to make complete the inner arrangements.

"Now the ship was constructed to hold twenty banks of rowers, with three gangways. The lowest gangway which it contained led to the cargo, the descent to which was afforded by companion-ways of solid construction[a]; the second was designed for the use of those who wished to enter the cabins; after this came the third and last, which was for men posted under arms. Belonging to the middle gangway were cabins for men ranged on each side of the ship, large enough for four couches, and numbering thirty. The officers' cabin could hold fifteen couches and contained three apartments of the size of three couches; that toward the stern was the cooks' galley. All these rooms had a tessellated flooring made of a variety of stones, in the pattern of which was wonderfully wrought the entire story of the *Iliad*; also in the furniture, the ceiling, and the doors all

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ordinarily means a ladder, which was more common in early Greek houses than solidly built stairs.

ταῦτα πεπονημένα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνωτάτω πάροδον γυμνάσιον ἦν καὶ περίπατοι σύμμετρον ἔχοντες τὴν κατασκευὴν τῷ τοῦ πλοίου μεγέθει, ἐν οἷς κῆποι παντοῖοι θαυμασίως ἦσαν ὑπερβάλλοντες[1] ταῖς φυτείαις, διὰ κεραμίδων μολυβδινῶν κατεστεγνωμένων ἀρδευόμενοι,[2] ἔτι δὲ σκηναὶ κιττοῦ λευκοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλων, ὧν αἱ ῥίζαι τὴν τροφὴν ἐν πίθοις εἶχον γῆς πεπληρωμένοις, τὴν αὐτὴν ἄρδευσιν λαμβάνουσαι καθάπερ καὶ e οἱ κῆποι. αὗται δὲ αἱ σκηναὶ συνεσκίαζον τοὺς περιπάτους. ἑξῆς δὲ τούτων Ἀφροδίσιον κατεσκεύαστο τρίκλινον, δάπεδον ἔχον ἐκ λίθων ἀχατῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων χαριεστάτων ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἦσαν· τοὺς τοίχους δ' εἶχε καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν κυπαρίττου, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἐλέφαντος καὶ θύου· γραφαῖς δὲ[3] καὶ ἀγάλμασιν, ἔτι δὲ ποτηρίων κατασκευαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως κατεσκεύαστο.

Τούτου δ' ἐφεξῆς σχολαστήριον ὑπῆρχε πεντάκλινον, ἐκ πύξου τοὺς τοίχους καὶ τὰ θυρώματα κατεσκευασμένον, βιβλιοθήκην ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὀροφὴν πόλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν f Ἀχραδίνην ἀπομεμιμημένον ἡλιοτροπίου. ἦν δὲ καὶ βαλανεῖον τρίκλινον πυρίας χαλκᾶς ἔχον τρεῖς καὶ λουτῆρα πέντε μετρητὰς δεχόμενον ποικίλον τοῦ Ταυρομενίτου λίθου. κατεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ οἰκήματα πλείω τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς τὰς ἀντλίας φυλάττουσι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἱππῶνες

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[1] ὑπερβάλλοντες Schweighäuser: περιβάλλοντες A.
[2] ἀρδευόμενοι added by Kaibel.
[3] δὲ added by Schweighäuser.

these themes were artfully represented. On the level of the uppermost gangway there were a gymnasium and promenades built on a scale proportionate to the size of the ship; in these were garden-beds of every sort, luxuriant with plants of marvellous growth, and watered by lead tiles hidden from sight; then there were bowers of white ivy and grape-vines, the roots of which got their nourishment in casks filled with earth, and receiving the same irrigation as the garden-beds. These bowers shaded the promenades. Built next to these was a shrine of Aphrodite large enough to contain three couches, with a floor made of agate and other stones, the most beautiful kinds found in the island; it had walls and ceiling of cypress-wood, and doors of ivory and fragrant cedar; it was also most lavishly furnished with paintings and statues and drinking-vessels of every shape.

"Adjoining the Aphrodite room was a library[a] large enough for five couches,[b] the walls and doors of which were made of boxwood; it contained a collection of books, and on the ceiling was a concave dial[c] made in imitation of the sun-dial on Achradina. There was also a bathroom, of three-couch size, with three bronze tubs and a wash-stand of variegated Tauromenian marble, having a capacity of fifty gallons. There were also several rooms built for the marines and those who manned the pumps.[d]

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[a] lit. "room for leisurely, *i.e.* studious or literary, occupations."

[b] The Greeks had no desks or library-tables, but usually reclined on a couch when they wrote or read. "Couch" is also a unit of measure in determining the size of a room.

[c] lit. "vault" (of the sky).

[d] lit. "who guarded the bilge" (*cf.* Aristoph. *Eq.* 434).

ἦσαν ἑκατέρου τῶν τοίχων δέκα· κατὰ δὲ τούτους ἡ τροφὴ τοῖς ἵπποις ἔκειτο καὶ τῶν ἀναβατῶν
208 καὶ τῶν παίδων τὰ σκεύη. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὑδροθήκη κατὰ τὴν πρῷραν κλειστή, δισχιλίους μετρητὰς δεχομένη, ἐκ σανίδων καὶ πίττης καὶ ὀθονίων κατεσκευασμένη. παρὰ δὲ ταύτην κατεσκεύαστο διὰ μολιβδώματος καὶ σανίδων κλειστὸν[1] ἰχθυοτροφεῖον· τοῦτο δ' ἦν πλῆρες θαλάττης, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ ἰχθύες ἐνετρέφοντο.[2] ὑπῆρχον δὲ καὶ τῶν τοίχων ἑκατέρωθεν τροποὶ[3] προεωσμένοι, διάστημα σύμμετρον ἔχοντες· ἐφ' ὧν κατεσκευασμέναι ἦσαν ξυλοθῆκαι καὶ κρίβανοι καὶ ὀπτανεῖα
b καὶ μύλοι καὶ πλείους ἕτεραι διακονίαι. ἄτλαντές τε περιέτρεχον τὴν ναῦν ἐκτὸς ἑξαπήχεις, οἳ τοὺς ὄγκους ὑπειλήφεσαν τοὺς ἀνωτάτω καὶ τὸ τρίγλυφον, πάντες ἐν διαστήματι συμμέτρῳ[4] βεβῶτες. ἡ δὲ ναῦς πᾶσα οἰκείαις γραφαῖς ἐπεπόνητο. πύργοι τε ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῇ ὀκτὼ σύμμετροι τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς τῆς νεὼς ὄγκοις· δύο μὲν κατὰ πρύμναν, οἱ δ' ἴσοι κατὰ πρῷραν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ κατὰ μέσην ναῦν. τούτων δὲ ἑκάστῳ παρεδέδεντο κεραῖαι β', ἐφ' ὧν κατεσκεύαστο φατνώματα, δι' ὧν ἠφίεντο λίθοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπλέοντας τῶν
c πολεμίων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πύργων ἕκαστον ἀνέβαινον τέτταρες μὲν καθωπλισμένοι νεανίσκοι, δύο δὲ τοξόται. πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν πύργων λίθων καὶ βελῶν πλῆρες ἦν. τεῖχος δὲ ἐπάλξεις ἔχον καὶ καταστρώματα διὰ νεὼς ἐπὶ κιλλιβάντων κατεσκεύαστο· ἐφ' οὗ λιθοβόλος ἐφειστήκει, τριτάλαντον λίθον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ[5] ἀφιεὶς καὶ δωδεκάπηχυ

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[1] κλειστὸν Coraes: κλειστῶν AC.
[2] ἐνετρέφοντο Coraes: εὖ ἐτρέφοντο AC.

But beside these there were ten stalls for horses on each side of the ship; and next them was the storage-place for the horses' food, and the belongings of the riders and their slaves. There was also a water-tank at the bow, which was kept covered and had a capacity of twenty thousand gallons; it was constructed of planks, caulked with pitch and covered with tarpaulins. By its side was built a fish-tank enclosed with lead and planks; this was filled with sea-water, and many fish were kept in it. On both sides of the ship were projecting beams, at proper intervals apart; on these were constructed receptacles for wood, ovens, kitchens, handmills, and several other utensils. Outside, a row of colossi, nine feet high, ran round the ship; these supported the upper weight and the triglyph, all standing at proper intervals apart. And the whole ship was adorned with appropriate paintings. There were also eight turrets on it, of a size proportional to the weight of the ship; two at the stern, an equal number at the bow, and the rest amidships. To each of these two cranes were made fast, and over them portholes were built, through which stones could be hurled at an enemy sailing underneath. Upon each of the turrets were mounted four sturdy men in full armour, and two archers. The whole interior of the turrets was full of stones and missiles. A wall with battlements and decks athwart the ship was built on supports; on this stood a stone-hurler, which could shoot by its own power a stone weighing one hundred and eighty pounds or a javelin eighteen feet long.

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[3] *τροποὶ* Schweighäuser: *τρόποι* A: *τόποι* C.

[4] *συμμέτρῳ* added by Meineke.

[5] *ἀφ' αὐτοῦ* Dindorf: *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* A.

βέλος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μηχάνημα κατεσκεύασεν
Ἀρχιμήδης. ἑκάτερον δὲ τῶν βελῶν ἔβαλλεν
ἐπὶ στάδιον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραρρύματα[1] ἐκ
τροπῶν[2] παχέων συγκείμενα διὰ ἁλύσεων χαλκῶν
d κρεμάμενα. τριῶν δὲ ἱστῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐξ ἑκάστου
κεραῖαι λιθοφόροι ἐξήρτηντο β´, ἐξ ὧν ἅρπαγές
τε καὶ πλίνθοι μολίβου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους
ἠφίεντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ χάραξ κύκλῳ τῆς νεὼς σιδηροῦς[3]
πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀναβαίνειν κόρακές
τε σιδηροῖ κύκλῳ τῆς νεώς, οἳ δι᾽ ὀργάνων
ἀφιέμενοι τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκράτουν σκάφη καὶ
παρέβαλλον εἰς πληγήν. ἑκατέρῳ δὲ τῶν τοίχων
ἑξήκοντα νεανίσκοι πανοπλίας ἔχοντες ἐφειστήκεσαν
e καὶ τούτοις ἴσοι περί τε τοὺς ἱστοὺς καὶ
τὰς λιθοφόρους κεραίας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς
ἱστοὺς ἐν τοῖς καρχησίοις οὖσι χαλκοῖς ἐπὶ μὲν
τοῦ πρώτου τρεῖς ἄνδρες, εἶθ᾽ ἑξῆς καθ᾽ ἕνα
λειπόμενοι· τούτοις δ᾽ ἐν πλεκτοῖς γυργάθοις διὰ
τροχιλιῶν[4] εἰς τὰ θωράκια λίθοι παρεβάλλοντο
καὶ βέλη διὰ τῶν παίδων. ἄγκυραι δὲ ἦσαν
ξύλιναι μὲν τέτταρες, σιδηραῖ δ᾽ ὀκτώ. τῶν δὲ
ἱστῶν ὁ μὲν δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος εὑρέθησαν
εὐχερῶς,[5] δυσχερῶς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος εὑρέθη ἐν τοῖς
f ὄρεσι τῆς Βρεττίας[6] ὑπὸ συβώτου ἀνδρός· κατήγαγε
δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν Φιλέας ὁ Ταυρομενίτης
μηχανικός. ἡ δὲ ἀντλία καίπερ βάθος ὑπερβάλλον
ἔχουσα δι᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐξηντλεῖτο διὰ κοχλίου,

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[1] παραρρύματα Casaubon: παρατρήματα A.

[2] τροπῶν Casaubon: τρόπων A.

[3] σιδηροῦς Kaibel: σιδήρου A: σιδήρεος C.

[4] τροχιλίων A. *cf.* Plato, *Rep.* 397 A.

[5] εὐχερῶς added by Dalechamp.

[6] Βρεττίας Casaubon: βρετανίας AC.

This engine was constructed by Archimedes. Either one of these missiles could be hurled six hundred feet. After this came leather curtains [a] joined together, suspended to thick beams by means of bronze chains. The ship carried three masts, from each of which two stone-hurling cranes were suspended; from them grappling hooks and lumps of lead could also be directed against assailants. An iron paling which encircled the ship also protected it against any who attempted to climb aboard; also grappling-cranes [b] of iron were all about the ship, which, operated by machinery, could lay hold of the enemy's hulls and bring them alongside where they would be exposed to blows. Sixty sturdy men in full armour mounted guard on each side of the ship, and a number equal to these manned the masts and stone-hurlers. Also at the masts, on the mastheads (which were of bronze), men were posted, three on the foremast, two in the maintop and one on the mizzenmast [c]; these were kept supplied by the slaves with stones and missiles carried aloft in wicker baskets to the crow's-nests by means of pulleys. There were four anchors of wood, eight of iron. The trees for the mainmast and mizzenmast were easily found; but that for the foremast was discovered with difficulty by a swineherd in the mountains of the Bruttii; it was hauled down to the coast by the engineer Phileas of Tauromenium. The bilge-water, even when it became very deep, could easily be pumped out by one man with the aid of the screw, an invention

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[a] To protect the upper tiers of rowers.

[b] Different from the ἅρπαγες before mentioned; see Polybius, i. 22; Diodorus, xvii. 44.

[c] lit. "less by one each successively."

Ἀρχιμήδους ἐξευρόντος. ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῇ νηὶ Συρακοσία· ὅτε δ' αὐτὴν ἐξέπεμπεν Ἱέρων, Ἀλεξανδρίδα αὐτὴν μετωνόμασεν. ἐφόλκια δ' ἦσαν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κέρκουρος τρισχίλια τάλαντα δέχεσθαι δυνάμενος· πᾶς δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐπίκωπος. μεθ' ὃν χίλια πεντακόσια βαστάζουσαι ἁλιάδες τε καὶ σκάφαι πλείους. ὄχλος δ' ἦν οὐκ ἐλάττων. . . .[1] μετὰ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄλλοι τε[2] ἑξακόσιοι παρὰ τὴν πρῷραν ἐπιτηροῦντες τὰ
209 παραγγελλόμενα. τῶν δὲ κατὰ ναῦν ἀδικημάτων δικαστήριον καθειστήκει ναύκληρος, κυβερνήτης καὶ πρῳρεύς, οἵπερ ἐδίκαζον κατὰ τοὺς Συρακοσίων νόμους.

Σίτου δὲ ἐνεβάλλοντο εἰς τὴν ναῦν μυριάδας ἕξ, ταρίχων δὲ Σικελικῶν κεράμια μύρια, ἐρεῶν[3] τάλαντα δισμύρια, καὶ ἕτερα δὲ φορτία δισμύρια. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁ ἐπισιτισμὸς ἦν τῶν ἐμπλεόντων.
b ὁ δ' Ἱέρων ἐπεὶ πάντας τοὺς λιμένας ἤκουεν τοὺς μὲν ὡς οὐ δύνατοί εἰσι τὴν ναῦν δέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπικινδύνους ὑπάρχειν, διέγνω δῶρον αὐτὴν ἀποστεῖλαι Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν σπάνις σίτου κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ ἡ ναῦς κατήχθη εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἔνθα καὶ ἐνεωλκήθη. ὁ δ' Ἱέρων καὶ Ἀρχίμηλον τὸν τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητὴν γράψαντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐπίγραμμα χιλίοις πυρῶν μεδίμνοις, οὓς καὶ παρέπεμψεν ἰδίοις δαπανήμασιν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐτίμησεν. ἔχει δ' οὕτως τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

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[1] A numeral has been lost.

[2] τε Meineke: γε A.

[3] ἐρεῶν Schweighäuser: ἐρεων A.

of Archimedes. The ship was named 'Syracusia'[a]; but when Hieron sent her forth, he changed the name to 'Alexandris.'[b] The boats which it had in tow were first a pinnace of three thousand talents[c] burden; this was propelled entirely by oars. After this came fishing-boats of fifteen hundred talents burden, and several cutters besides. The numbers composing the crew were not less than . . .[d] Next to these just mentioned there were six hundred more men at the bow ready to carry out orders. For any crimes committed on board there was a court composed of the skipper, pilot, and officer at the bow, who gave judgement in accordance with the laws of Syracuse.

"On board were loaded ninety thousand bushels of grain, ten thousand jars of Sicilian salt-fish, six hundred tons of wool, and other freight amounting to six hundred tons. Quite apart from this was the provisioning of the crew. But when Hieron began to get reports of all the harbours, either that they could not receive his ship at all, or that great danger to the ship was involved, he determined to send it as a present to King Ptolemy at Alexandria; for there was in fact a scarcity of grain throughout Egypt. And so he did; and the ship was brought to Alexandria, where it was pulled up on shore. Hieron also honoured Archimelus, the poet who had written an epigram celebrating the vessel, with fifteen hundred bushels of wheat, which he shipped at his own expense to Peiraeus. The epigram runs as

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[a] lit. "Lady of Syracuse."

[b] lit. "Lady of Alexandria."

[c] About 90 tons.

[d] See critical note.

c τίς τόδε σέλμα πέλωρον ἐπὶ χθονὸς εἵσατο; ποῖος
κοίρανος ἀκαμάτοις πείσμασιν ἠγάγετο;
πῶς δὲ κατὰ δρυόχων ἐπάγη σανίς, ἢ τίνι γόμφοι
τμηθέντες πελέκει τοῦτ᾽ ἔκαμον τὸ κύτος,
ἢ κορυφαῖς Αἴτνας παρισούμενον ἤ τινι νάσων
ἃς Αἰγαῖον ὕδωρ Κυκλάδας ἐνδέδεται,
τοίχοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἰσοπλατές; ἦ ῥα Γίγαντες
d τοῦτο πρὸς οὐρανίας ἔξεσαν ἀτραπιτούς.
ἄστρων γὰρ ψαύει καρχήσια καὶ τριελίκτους
θώρακας μεγάλων ἐντὸς ἔχει νεφέων.
πείσμασι δ᾽ ἀγκύρας ἀπερείδεται οἷσιν Ἀβύδου
Ξέρξης καὶ Σηστοῦ δισσὸν ἔδησε πόρον.
μανύει στιβαρᾶς κατ᾽ ἐπωμίδος ἀρτιχάρακτον
γράμμα, τίς ἐκ χέρσου τάνδ᾽ ἐκύλισε τρόπιν·
φατὶ[1] γὰρ ὡς Ἱέρων Ἱεροκλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσᾳ
e καὶ νάσοις καρπὸν[2] πίονα δωροφορῶν,[3]
Σικελίας σκαπτοῦχος ὁ Δωρικός. ἀλλά, Πόσειδον,
σῷζε κατὰ[4] γλαυκῶν σέλμα τόδε ῥοθίων."

Παρέλιπον[5] δ᾽ ἑκὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν τριήρη, ᾗ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοὺς περὶ Λεύκολλαν τῆς Κῴας, ὅπου δὴ[6] καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν· ἥτις οὐδὲ τὸ τρίτον, τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ τέταρτον εἶχε τῆς Συρακοσίας ἢ Ἀλεξανδρίδος ταύτης νεώς.

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[1] φατὶ Schweighäuser: φασὶ A: φησὶ C.
[2] καρπὸν Casaubon: καρπῶν A.
[3] δωροφορῶν Casaubon: δωροφόρον A: δωροφόρων C.
[4] κατὰ AC: διὰ Kaibel.
[5] παρέλιπον Musurus: παρέλειπον A.
[6] ὅπου δὴ Meineke: ἐπειδὴ A.

follows: 'Who hath set these giant timbers on the ground? What mighty master hath hauled them with untiring cables? How was the flooring fixed to the ribs of oak, or by what axe hewn did rivets make this hollow mass, matching in height the peaks of Aetna, or stretching with walls on both sides broad as one of the isles which Aegean waters bind together in the Cyclades? Verily the Giants have planed these timbers to traverse the paths of Heaven. For its mastheads touch the stars, and it hides its three-ply bulwarks [a] within the mighty clouds. Its anchors are secured with such cables as those with which Xerxes bound together the twin passage of Abydos and Sestos. Letters freshly charactered on its stout prow reveal who it was that sent forth this keel from the dry land; for they declare that it was Hieron, son of Hierocles, bearing gifts of a rich harvest to all Hellas and the isles, wielder of the sceptre of Sicily, the Dorian. Nay then, Poseidon, guide this bark homeward over the blue surging sea.'"

I [b] have intentionally omitted the sacred trireme of Antigonus,[c] in which he defeated Ptolemy's generals off Leucolla, in Cos, where, in fact, he dedicated it to Apollo; for this trireme could not contain a third or perhaps not even a fourth of the "Syracusia" or "Alexandris," the ship of Hieron's just described.

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[a] Apparently meaning the turrets (208 b) built with three layers of timber.

[b] Masurius, 196 a.

[c] Antigonus Gonatas is meant. The date of the battle is placed *ca.* 265 B.C. by Niese, *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, ii. 131; *ca.* 256 B.C. by Kaerst in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 2415. Plutarch 545 b shows that Κῴας in Athenaeus is not a mistake for Κύπρου, as older editors thought.

Τοσαῦτ᾽ οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου
f οὐκ ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀρξάμενοι κατελέξαμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ πανηγυρικῶν πομπῶν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν καλὸν Οὐλπιανὸν οἶδα πάλιν προβαλοῦντα[1] ἡμῖν τίς αὕτη ἡ παρὰ τῷ Καλλιξείνῳ ἐγγυθήκη, φαμὲν αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ λόγος τις εἰς Λυσίαν ἀναφέρεται τὸν ῥήτορα περὶ ἐγγυθήκης ἐπιγραφόμενος, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· "εἰ μὲν δίκαιον ἔλεγεν ἢ μέτριον, ἄνδρες δικασταί, Λυσιμένης." ἐν ᾧ προελθών φησιν· "οὐκ ἂν ἐσπούδαζον περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐγγυθήκης δικαιολογεῖσθαι, ἣ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξία τριάκοντα δραχμῶν."
210 ὅτι δὲ χαλκῆ ἦν ἡ ἐγγυθήκη ἑξῆς φησι· "πέρυσιν δὲ ἐπισκευάσαι αὐτὴν βουλόμενος ἐξέδωκα εἰς τὸ χαλκεῖον· ἐστὶ γὰρ συνθετὴ καὶ Σατύρων ἔχει πρόσωπα καὶ βουκεφάλια. . . . ἄλλο ἔτι μέγεθος τὸ αὐτό. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς τεχνίτης πολλὰ σκεύη ταὐτὰ καὶ ὅμοια ἐργάζεται." ἐν τούτοις ὁ Λυσίας εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ χαλκῆ ἦν ἡ ἐγγυθήκη, σαφῶς παρίστησιν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Καλλίξεινος εἴρηκε, λεβήτων αὐτὰς ὑποθήματα εἶναι. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς
b εἶπεν ἐν γ΄ τῶν πρὸς Ἀδαῖον καὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐξηγούμενος διάθεσιν ἐν Φλιοῦντι κατὰ τὴν πολεμάρχειον στοὰν γεγραμμένην ὑπὸ Σίλλακος τοῦ Ῥηγίνου, οὗ μνημονεύουσιν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Σιμωνίδης, λέγων οὕτως· "ἐγγυθήκη καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς κύπελλον." Ἡγήσανδρος δὲ ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν

[1] προβαλοῦντα Casaubon: προσβαλοῦντα A.

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[a] Borrowing his title from the last part of *Iliad* ii. (484-877), "Catalogue of the Ships," in which the Achaeans sailed to Troy. It began with the Boeotians.

[b] Above, 199 c; a stand or sideboard for holding vessels is meant.

So much, then, have we enumerated concerning the "Catalogue of Ships,"[a] beginning not with the Boeotians, but with great festival processions. And since I am sure that our noble Ulpian will again propound us a question as to what is that "vessel-stand" mentioned by Callixeinus,[b] I answer him that there is even a speech ascribed to the orator Lysias, entitled *On the Vessel-stand*,[c] beginning: "If, gentlemen of the court, Lysimenes were maintaining any just or reasonable claim." Proceeding further in the speech he says: "I should not be so concerned to argue about the vessel-stand itself, for that is not worth thirty shillings." That the stand was of bronze he declares further: "Last year I wished to have it repaired, and I sent it out to the bronze-foundry; for it is made up of different parts, and it has the faces of Satyrs, and the heads of bulls worked on it. . . . There is another one of the same size. For the same maker manufactures many articles of furniture in the same or similar style." In this passage Lysias mentions that the vessel-stand was of bronze, and so clearly shows, as Callixeinus also has said, that they are supports for cauldrons. In the same way, in fact, Polemon the Geographer also has spoken of it; in the third book of his work, *Address to Adaeus and Antigonus*,[d] he describes the subject of a picture painted on the wall of the Polemarch's portico at Phlius; it was by Sillax of Rhegium, who is mentioned by Epicharmus[e] and Simonides.[f] Polemon says: "a vessel-stand, and upon it a cup." And Hegesander of Delphi, in

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[c] Frag. 91 Turnebus.

[d] Frag. 58 Preller.

[e] Kaibel 120.

[f] *P.L.G.*^{4} iii. frag. 194.

τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ὑπομνήματι ἀνδριάντων καὶ
ἀγαλμάτων Γλαύκου φησὶ τοῦ Χίου τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς
ὑπόστημα οἷον ἐγγυθήκην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν, ἀνάθημα
c Ἀλυάττου· οὗ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος μνημονεύει ὑποκρητηρίδιον
αὐτὸ καλῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν[1] Ἡγήσανδρος ταῦτα
λέγει. εἴδομεν δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν
Δελφοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς θέας ἄξιον διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐντετορευμένα[2] ζῳδάρια καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ζῳύφια καὶ
φυτάρια, ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενα καὶ
κρατῆρας καὶ ἄλλα σκεύη. ἡ δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξανδρέων
καλουμένη ἀγγοθήκη τρίγωνός ἐστι, κατὰ μέσον
κοίλη, δέχεσθαι δυναμένη ἐντιθέμενον κεράμιον.
ἔχουσι δὲ ταύτην οἱ μὲν πένητες ξυλίνην, οἱ δὲ
πλούσιοι χαλκῆν ἢ ἀργυρᾶν.

Εἰπόντες οὖν περὶ ἐγγυθήκης ἑξῆς πάλιν μνησθησόμεθα
φιλοδείπνων βασιλέων. ὁ γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ
d Ἀντιόχῳ ὁμώνυμος βασιλεύς, Δημητρίου
δ' υἱός, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος, ὑποδοχὰς ποιούμενος
καθ' ἡμέραν ὀχλικὰς χωρὶς τῶν ἀναλισκομένων
σωρευμάτων[3] ἑκάστῳ ἀποφέρειν ἐδίδου τῶν
ἑστιατόρων ὁλομελῆ κρέα χερσαίων τε καὶ πτηνῶν
καὶ θαλαττίων ζῴων ἀδιαίρετα ἐσκευασμένα,
ἅμαξαν πληρῶσαι δυνάμενα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
μελιπήκτων καὶ στεφάνων ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ
σὺν ἀνδρομήκεσι λημνίσκων χρυσῶν πιλήμασι[4]
e πλήθη. καὶ ἄλλος δ' Ἀντίοχος βασιλεὺς

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[1] μὲν added by Dobree.

[2] ἐντετορευμένα Schweighäuser: ἐντετορνευμένα A.

[3] σωρευμάτων Athen. 540 c: σωρεύματα AC.

[4] χρυσῶν πιλήμασι 540 c: πιλήμασι χρυσοῖς A.

the commentary entitled *Statues of Men and of Gods* [a] says that the stand in Delphi made by Glaucus of Chios is a kind of vessel-stand of iron dedicated by Alyattes; it is mentioned by Herodotus,[b] who calls it a "bowl-stand." This, then, is what Hegesander says of it. But I too have seen it where it stands as an offering in Delphi, truly worth seeing on account of the figures of insects worked in relief upon it, as well as other tiny creatures and plants; it is capable of holding upon it mixing-bowls and other vessels besides. But that which Alexandrians call "vessel-holder" is triangular, hollow in the middle, so that it can receive a jar placed inside it. The poor have one of wood; the rich, of bronze or silver.

Having, then, discussed the vessel-stand, I will next mention again kings who have been dinner-devotees. To begin with the king who bore the same name as the Antiochus before mentioned,[c] and who was the son of Demetrius: Poseidonius records [d] that he held receptions daily to great crowds; and not counting the heaps of food there consumed, he allowed every one of the feasters to carry home uncarved meat of land-animals, fowls, and creatures of the sea prepared whole, and capable of filling a cart; and after all that, quantities of honey-cakes and wreaths of myrrh and frankincense with matted fillets of gold as long as a man. And another king

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 421; in the title ἄγαλμα is properly distinguished from ἀνδριάς, though ἄγαλμα may sometimes mean the statue of a man.

[b] i. 25.

[c] Epiphanes, 193 d-195 f.

[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 257; the Seleucidae here mentioned are Antiochus Sidetes, son of Demetrius I Soter, and Antiochus Grypus, son of Demetrius II Nicator.

ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς ἐν Δάφνῃ ἀγῶνας ἐποιήσατο καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποδοχὰς λαμπράς, ὡς ὁ[1] αὐτός φησι Ποσειδώνιος· "τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἀναδόσεις ἐποιήσατο κατ' ἄνδρα ὁλομελῶν βρωμάτων, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ζώντων χηνῶν καὶ[2] λαγωῶν καὶ δορκάδων. ἀνεδίδοντο δὲ καὶ χρυσοῖ στέφανοι τοῖς δειπνοῦσι καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ ἵππων καὶ καμήλων. καὶ ἔδει ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὴν κάμηλον πιεῖν ἕκαστον καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν[3] κάμηλον καὶ τὸν παρεστῶτα παῖδα."—"καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν δὲ πάντες, φησί, διὰ
f τὴν τῆς χώρας εὐβοσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τἀναγκαῖα κακοπαθείας συνόδους ἔνεμον πλείους ἵνα εὐωχοῖντο συνεχῶς, τοῖς μὲν γυμνασίοις ὡς βαλανείοις χρώμενοι, ἀλειφόμενοι[4] ἐλαίῳ πολυτελεῖ καὶ μύροις, τοῖς δὲ γραμματείοις—οὕτως γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν συνδείπνων—ὡς οἰκητηρίοις ἐνδιαιτώμενοι, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας γαστριζόμενοι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἴνοις καὶ βρώμασιν, ὥστε καὶ προσαποφέρειν πολλά, καὶ καταυλούμενοι πρὸς χελωνίδος[5] πολυκρότου ψόφους, ὥστε τὰς πόλεις ὅλας τοῖς τοιούτοις κελάδοις συνηχεῖσθαι."

211 Ἐπαινῶ δ' ἐγώ, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ γενόμενον παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Συρίας συμπόσιον. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ὢν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ

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[1] ὁ added by Schweighäuser.

[2] καὶ added from Athen. 540 b.

[3] κάμηλον . . . τὴν added from 540 b.

[4] δὲ after ἀλειφόμενοι deleted by Meineke.

[5] χελωνίδος 527 f: χελιδόνος AC.

Antiochus,[a] when he celebrated the games at Daphne, also held brilliant receptions, according to the same Poseidonius[b]: "At the beginning he made distributions, man by man, of uncarved meat; afterwards of live geese, hares, and gazelles. There were also distributed to the diners gold wreaths and a great quantity of silver vessels, slaves, horses, and camels. And it was the duty of each man, after mounting his camel, to drink a toast and accept the camel and everything upon it as well as the attending slave."—"And all the people of Syria," Poseidonius says,[c] "because of the great plenty which their land afforded were relieved of any distress regarding the necessaries of life; hence they held many gatherings in order to feast continually, using the gymnasia as mere baths in which they anointed themselves with expensive oil and perfumes, and living in the 'bonds'[d]—for this is the name by which they called the commons where the diners met—as though they were their private houses, and filling their bellies in them, during the greater part of the day, with wines and foods, even taking many things home besides; delighting their ears with sounds from a loudly-struck harp, so that the towns rang throughout with such noises."

But I[e] commend, my friends, the symposium held in the palace of Alexander, the king of Syria. This Alexander[f] was son of Antiochus Epiphanes—*pre-*

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[a] Antiochus Grypus, Athen. 540 a-c.
[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 263.
[c] *F.H.G.* iii. 258.
[d] γραμματεῖον may mean a legal document of any kind. Here the word may refer to the letters (γράμματα) by which the several assembly-rooms were possibly designated.
[e] Masurius.
[f] Alexander Balas.

Ἐπιφανοῦς υἱὸς ὑποβληθείς, . . . διὸ[1] εἶχον μῖσος πάντες ἄνθρωποι εἰς Δημήτριον· περὶ οὗ ἱστόρησεν ὁ ἑταῖρος ἡμῶν Ἀθήναιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλευσάντων. τὸ οὖν συμπόσιον τοῦτο τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο. Διογένης ὁ Ἐπικούρειος, ἕξιν ἔχων ἱκανὴν ἐν οἷς μετεχειρίζετο λόγοις, τὸ b μὲν γένος ἦν ἐκ Σελευκείας τῆς ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ,[2] ἀποδοχῆς[3] δ' ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ[4] καίτοι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς λόγοις χαίροντι. ἐπολυώρει οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καίπερ ὄντα τῷ βίῳ φαῦλον, ἔτι δὲ βλάσφημον καὶ βάσκανον ἕνεκά τε τοῦ γελοίου μηδὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἀπεχόμενον.[5] καὶ αἰτησαμένῳ αὐτῷ φιλοσοφίας ἀλλοτρίαν αἴτησιν, ὅπως πορφυροῦν τε χιτωνίσκον φορήσει καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἔχοντα πρόσωπον Ἀρετῆς κατὰ μέσον, ἧς ἱερεὺς ἠξίου προσαγορεύεσθαι, συνεχώρησε καὶ τὸν στέφανον προσχαρισάμενος. ἅπερ ὁ Διογένης ἐρασθείς τινος λυσιῳδοῦ γυναικὸς c ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῇ. ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ συνάγων φιλοσόφων καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν συμπόσιον ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὸν Διογένη· καὶ παραγενόμενον ἠξίου κατακλίνεσθαι ἔχοντα τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα. ἄκαιρον δ' εἶναι εἰπόντος νεύσας

[1] διὸ ("wherefore") here can hardly be right, unless it = διότι ("because"): δι' ὃν Kaibel, which does not accord with the reasons given by Josephus for the hatred of Demetrius. The hanging nominative shows that there is a gap.

[2] Βαβυλωνίᾳ Kaibel, comparing Strabo 744: Βαβυλῶνι A.

[3] ἀποδοχῆς Schweighäuser: ανοδοχης A.

[4] τῷ βασιλεῖ Villebrun: τοῦ βασιλέως A.

[5] ἀπεχόμενον Musurus: ἀποδεχόμενον A.

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[a] *i.e.* "foisted upon Antiochus because," etc. See critical note, and *cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 3. "They hated Demetrius

tended son . . . wherefore[a] the whole world cherished hatred against Demetrius; concerning him our comrade Athenaeus has made record in his work *On the Kings of Syria.*[b] This symposium, then, was held somewhat in the following wise: The Epicurean philosopher Diogenes, who had considerable command of the doctrines which he professed, was by birth a native of Seleuceia in Babylonia, and he used to obtain a welcome at the court in spite of the fact that the king delighted in the doctrines of the Stoics. Well, Alexander paid him high regard, although he lived a depraved life, and moreover had a slanderous and bitter tongue, not even sparing the royal house if he could provoke a laugh. And once he made request of a favour, strange for a philosopher, that he might wear a purple tunic and a gold crown bearing in the middle the face of Virtue, whose priest he demanded that he should be called; the king granted this, even adding the crown as a special gift. Then Diogenes, falling in love with an actress who played male rôles,[c] presented these very things to her. Alexander heard of this, and getting together a dinner-party of philosophers and distinguished men, he summoned also Diogenes; when he arrived, the king demanded that he take his place on the couch with the crown and the dress given to him. Diogenes replied that that was

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because of his arrogance and lack of affability" (1 *Macc.* x.). Of humble origin, Alexander Balas bore an extraordinary likeness to a son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and, aided by Attalus II of Pergamum, won the throne of Antiochus in 150 B.C. He was killed in battle and succeeded by Demetrius (II Nicator) here mentioned, 146 B.C.

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 656, and Introduction, Vol. i. p. ix.

[c] For λυσιῳδοῦ, "Lysis-singer," see 182 c, note b (p. 305).

εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὰ ἀκούσματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ
ἡ λυσιῳδὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐστεφανωμένη τὸν τῆς
Ἀρετῆς στέφανον, ἐνδῦσα καὶ τὴν πορφυρᾶν
ἐσθῆτα. γέλωτος οὖν πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος ἔμενεν[1]
ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὴν λυσιῳδὸν ἐπαινῶν οὐκ
d ἐπαύσατο. τοῦτον τὸν Διογένη ὁ μεταλαβὼν τὴν
βασιλείαν Ἀντίοχος, οὐκ ἐνέγκας αὐτοῦ τὴν
κακολογίαν, ἀποσφαγῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος
προσηνὴς ἦν[2] ἐν πᾶσι καὶ φιλόλογος ἐν
ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ οὐχ ὅμοιος Ἀθηνίωνι τῷ
περιπατητικῷ φιλοσόφῳ, τῷ καὶ διατριβῆς προστάντι
φιλοσόφου Ἀθήνησί τε καὶ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ,
ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν Λαρίσῃ τῆς Θετταλίας, καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως τυραννήσαντι. περὶ
οὗ καθ' ἕκαστα ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ Ἀπαμεύς,
ἅπερ εἰ καὶ μακρότερά ἐστιν ἐκθήσομαι, ἵν'
e ἐπιμελῶς πάντας ἐξετάζωμεν τοὺς φάσκοντας
εἶναι φιλοσόφους καὶ μὴ τοῖς τριβωνίοις καὶ τοῖς
ἀκάρτοις πώγωσι πιστεύωμεν. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν
Ἀγάθωνα

εἰ μὲν φράσω τἀληθές, οὐχί σ' εὐφρανῶ·
εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ τί σ', οὐχὶ τἀληθὲς φράσω.

ἀλλὰ φίλη γάρ,[3] φασίν, ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἐκθήσομαι τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ἐγένετο.

Ἐν τῇ Ἐρυμνέως τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ σχολῇ διέτριβέ τις Ἀθηνίων προσκαρτερῶν τοῖς λόγοις.

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[1] Some word like ἀκίνητος, "undisturbed," seems lacking.

[2] προσηνὴς ἦν Musurus: προσῆν A.

[3] γάρ added by Meineke.

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[a] See critical note.

inconvenient; whereupon the king with a nod bade the entertainers to be brought in, and among them was the actress of male rôles, crowned with the crown of Virtue, and clad in the purple tunic. A loud burst of laughter broke forth, but Diogenes never stirred,[a] but praised the actress without ceasing. Antiochus,[b] who succeeded to the kingdom, would not tolerate the abusive manners of this Diogenes, and ordered his throat to be cut. But Alexander was gentle in all circumstances, and in his conversation fond of literary subjects; and he was not like Athenion, the Peripatetic philosopher, who had been the head of a philosophic school at Athens and in Messene and again at Larisa, in Thessaly, and afterwards usurped rule over the city of Athens. Concerning him Poseidonius of Apamea records detailed information which, though rather long, I will set forth, because I wish to scrutinize carefully all who profess to be philosophers and not put faith merely in their ragged coats and unshorn beards. For, as Agathon[c] says: "If I speak sooth, I shall not give thee joy; but if I give thee joy in any wise, I shall not speak sooth." But surely, as they say, truth is dear; and I will set forth the story of the man as it occurred.[d]

"To the school of the Peripatetic Erymneus resorted a man named Athenion, who devoted himself sedulously to the philosopher's doctrines.

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[b] Antiochus VI Epiphanes, who reigned for four years over part of his father Alexander's kingdom.

[c] *T.G.F.*^{2} 766.

[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 266; the name of this upstart was Aristion, not Athenion, according to Plut. *Sulla*, ch. xii. *passim*, *Moral.* 809 E. *Cf.* Appian, *Mith.* xxviii. (who may have read Poseidonius); Paus. i. 20. 3; Strab. 398.

ὅστις Αἰγυπτίαν ὠνησάμενος θεράπαιναν ἐπε-
f πλέκετο αὐτῇ. ταύτης οὖν παῖς[1] εἴτ᾿ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκούσης, εἴτ᾿ ἐξ ἄλλου τινός, ὁμώνυμος Ἀθηνίωνι τῷ δεσπότῃ παρετρέφετο. γράμματα δὲ μαθὼν καὶ πρεσβύτην γενόμενον τὸν δεσπότην μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐχειραγώγει καὶ ἀποθανόντα[2] κληρονομήσας παρέγγραφος Ἀθηναίων πολίτης ἐγένετο. γήμας τε παιδισκάριον εὔμορφον μετὰ τούτου πρὸς τὸ σοφιστεύειν ὥρμησε μειράκια σχολαστικὰ θηρεύων. καὶ σοφιστεύσας ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κἀν
212 Λαρίσῃ τῇ Θετταλικῇ καὶ πολλὰ ἐργασάμενος χρήματα ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβευτής, ὅτε εἰς Μιθριδάτην τὰ πράγματα μετέρρει, ὑποδραμὼν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν φίλων εἷς ἐγένετο, μεγίστης τυχὼν προαγωγῆς. διόπερ μετεώριζε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δι᾿ ἐπιστολῶν ὡς τὰ μέγιστα παρὰ τῷ Καππαδόκῃ δυνάμενος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ὀφλημάτων ἀπολυθέντας ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀνακτησαμένους, καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων τυχεῖν ἰδίᾳ
b καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεκόμπουν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν καταλελύσθαι πεπιστευκότες. ἤδη οὖν τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβεβλημένης ὁ Ἀθηνίων ἐπανῆγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐνοχληθεὶς εἰς τὴν Καρυστίαν κατηνέχθη. τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ Κεκροπίδαι ἔπεμψαν

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[1] παῖς added by Kaibel: παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ conj. by Meyer after τινός.

[2] ἀποθανόντα A: ἀποθανόντος C.

Having purchased an Egyptian slave-girl, he lay with her. A son of this woman, whom she bore either by Athenion or by someone else, but named after Athenion, was brought up in her master's house. He was taught to read, and when the master grew old he used to lead him by the hand in company with his mother; when the elder Athenion died, the younger became his heir, and was illegally enrolled as a citizen of Athens. He then married a pretty wench, by whose aid he hunted up lads to form a school, and began to practise the profession of a sophist; and after a career as sophist in Messene and at Larisa, in Thessaly, he amassed a considerable fortune and returned to Athens. He was then elected an ambassador by the Athenians at the time when their interests were inclining to the side of Mithridates,[a] and insinuating himself in the king's good graces he became one of his intimates, receiving the highest promotion. Wherefore he began through letters to unsettle the Athenians with false hopes, as though he possessed the greatest influence with the Cappadocian monarch—an influence which would enable them not only to live in peace and concord, freed from the fines in which they were mulcted, but even to recover their democratic constitution and receive large doles individually and as a community. All this the Athenians were loudly boasting, convinced that the Roman rule had been completely overthrown. When, then, Asia Minor had gone over to the king, Athenion began his return to Athens, but bothered by foul weather he put in to Carystia. When the Cecropids[b] learned

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[a] *ca.* 87–86 B.C., during the first Mithridatic War.

[b] Ironical for Athenians.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦς μακρὰς καὶ φορεῖον ἀργυρόπουν. ἀλλ᾿ εἴσεισιν[1] ἤδη, καὶ c σχεδὸν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέχυτο· συνέτρεχον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι θεαταὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς τύχης θαυμάζοντες, εἰ ὁ παρέγγραφος Ἀθηνίων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπ᾿ ἀγρυρόποδος κατακομίζεται φορείου καὶ πορφυρῶν στρωμάτων, ὁ μηδέποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίβωνος ἑωρακὼς πορφύραν πρότερον,[2] οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοιαύτῃ φαντασίᾳ καταχλιδῶντος τῆς Ἀττικῆς. συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς τὴν θέαν ταύτην ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, παῖδες, τὰ κάλλιστα προσδοκῶντες παρὰ Μιθριδάτου, ὁπότε Ἀθηνίων ὁ πένης καὶ τὰς ἐρανικὰς ποιησάμενος ἀκροάσεις d διὰ τὸν βασιλέα σιληπορδῶν διὰ τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεως πομπεύει. ὑπήντησαν δ᾿ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ νέου Διονύσου καλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτην εὐχάς τε καὶ σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἐκ μισθωτῆς οἰκίας ἐξιὼν εἰς τὴν Διέους οἰκίαν[3] τοῦ τότε πλουτοῦντος ἀνθρώπου ταῖς ἐκ Δήλου προσόδοις εἰσηνέχθη, κεκοσμημένην στρωμναῖς τε καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι[4] καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων ἐκθέσει. ἀφ᾿ ἧς ἐξῄει χλαμύδα λαμπρὰν ἐπισύρων καὶ περικείμενος δακτύλιον χρυσίου e ἐγγεγλυμμένην ἔχοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου εἰκόνα·

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[1] ἀλλ᾿ εἴσεισιν Casaubon : ἀλλησεισιν A.

[2] ὁ μηδέποτε . . . πρότερον suspected, but the style of the whole passage is extraordinary for prose; *cf.* ἀλλ᾿ εἴσεισιν above, and the asyndeton (recalling tragedy) in ἄνδρες . . . παῖδες below.

[3] διευσοικίαν A : Διέους οἰκίαν Wilhelm, *Arch.-Epi. Mitt*, XX (1897, 73).

[4] ἀνδριᾶσι Casaubon : ἀνδράσι A.

that, they sent war-galleys and a litter with silver supports to bring him home. But now he is coming in! More than half the population of the town, nearly, poured out to take part in welcoming him; many others joined the running crowd as sight-seers, marvelling at the incredible turn of fortune, that this upstart Athenion[a] should be conveyed back to Athens on a gold-footed litter and purple rugs—he, who in the earlier days of his ragged coat had never seen purple; and what is more, no Roman had ever insulted Attica by luxuriating in such display. And so they joined the running crowd to see this sight—men, women, children, with highest expectations of Mithridates' bounty, seeing that the poverty-stricken Athenion, who once gave lectures for such fees as he could collect,[b] now parades through town and country with insolent airs on account of the king's favour. He was also met by the artists of Dionysus, summoning the messenger of the new Dionysus to come to the public feast and join in the prayers and libations connected therewith. He who had in former days gone forth from a hired house was conducted to the house of Diēs,[c] the person who at that time enjoyed great wēalth from revenues in Delos; the house was decorated with couches elaborately spread, with paintings and statues and display of silver vessels. From it he emerged trailing a white riding-cloak, his finger encircled with a ring of gold with the portrait of Mithridates engraved upon it; and many slaves

[a] The insertion of the proper name, which Kaibel thinks inopportune, is a play on the word Ἀθηναίων: "this illicitly-enrolled Athenian."

[b] *i.e.* from voluntary contributors, as in an ἔρανος or picnic.

[c] Identified from Delian inscriptions as of Tyrian origin; Dow, *Class. Phil.*, xxxvii (1942), 311 ff.

προεπόμπευον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφείποντο θεράποντες
πολλοί. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τῶν τεχνιτῶν θυσίαι
τε ἐπετελοῦντο ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀθηνίωνος παρουσίᾳ καὶ
μετὰ κήρυκος προαναφωνήσεως σπονδαί. καὶ τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθόντες
ἀνέμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόοδον· πλήρης δ' ἦν καὶ ὁ
Κεραμεικὸς ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ αὐτόκλητος εἰς
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ὄχλων συνδρομή. ὁ δὲ μόλις
προῆλθε δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν
f παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ θελόντων, ἑκάστου σπεύδοντος κἂν
προσάψασθαι τῆς ἐσθῆτος.

Ἀναβὰς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττάλου
στοᾶς ᾠκοδομημένον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς
στὰς ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ περιβλέψας κυκληδὸν τὸ
πλῆθος, ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψας 'ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ἔφη, τὰ πράγματα μέν[1] με βιάζεται καὶ τὸ τῆς
πατρίδος συμφέρον ἀπαγγέλλειν ἃ οἶδα, τὸ δὲ
μέγεθος τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ παράδοξον
τῆς περιστάσεως ἐμποδίζει με.' ἀθρόως
213 δ' ἐπιβοησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν περιεστώτων θαρρεῖν
καὶ λέγειν, 'λέγω τοίνυν, ἔφη, τὰ μηδέποτε
ἐλπισθέντα μηδὲ ἐν ὀνείρῳ φαντασθέντα. βασιλεὺς
Μιθριδάτης κρατεῖ μὲν Βιθυνίας καὶ τῆς ἄνω
Καππαδοκίας, κρατεῖ δὲ τῆς συνεχοῦς Ἀσίας
ἁπάσης ἄχρι Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας. καὶ βασιλεῖς
μὲν αὐτὸν Ἀρμενίων καὶ Περσῶν δορυφοροῦσι,
δυνάσται δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν καὶ τὸν ὅλον
Πόντον κατῳκισμένων ἐθνῶν ἐν περιμέτρῳ τρισμυρίων
σταδίων. Ῥωμαίων δὲ στρατηγὸς μὲν
Παμφυλίας Κόιντος Ὄππιος[2] παραδοθεὶς ἀκολουθεῖ

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[1] *μέν* added by Kaibel.

[2] Ὄππιος Schweighäuser: ὁ ἵππιος A.

preceded and followed him in the procession. In the precinct of the artists of Dionysus sacrifices were held in honour of Athenion's arrival, and libations were poured at the proclamation of a herald. On the next day many came to the house and waited for his coming forth; even the Cerameicus was filled with citizens and foreigners, and there was a spontaneous rush of the crowds to the Assembly. He made his way forward with difficulty, attended by a bodyguard of persons who wished to seem great in the eyes of the populace, each one eager just to touch his garments.

"Mounting, then, the platform built in front of the Portico of Attalus by the Roman generals, he took his stand upon this and glanced at the throng all about him; then looking upward, he spoke: 'Men of Athens, the situation of affairs and the interest of my native land compel me to report the facts which I know; and yet the enormous importance of what is to be said, on account of the unexpected turn of circumstances, embarrasses me.' When the crowds standing round shouted to him to have no fear, but to speak out, he said: 'Very well, then; I speak of things never hoped for or even conceived of in a dream. King Mithradates is master of Bithynia and Upper Cappadocia; he is master of the whole continent of Asia as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia. And kings form his bodyguard, Armenian and Persian, and princes ruling over the tribes who dwell round the Maeotis and the whole of Pontus, making a circuit of three thousand six hundred miles. The Roman commander in Pamphylia, Quintus Oppius, has been delivered up and now follows in his train as a captive; Manius

b δέσμιος, Μάνιος[1] δὲ Ἀκύλλιος ὁ ὑπατευκώς, ὁ τὸν ἀπὸ Σικελίας καταγαγὼν θρίαμβον, συνδέτην ἔχων ἁλύσει μακρᾷ Βαστάρνην πεντάπηχυν πεζὸς ὑπὸ ἱππέως ἕλκεται. τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι προσπεπτώκασιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταμφιεσάμενοι τετράγωνα ἱμάτια τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσι. πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον τιμαῖς ὑπαντῶσα κατακαλεῖται τὸν θεὸν[2] βασιλέα· χρησμοὶ δὲ πάντοθεν τὸ κράτος τῆς οἰκουμένης θεσπιῳδοῦσι. c διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Θρᾴκην καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν μεγάλα πέμπεται στρατόπεδα, καὶ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἅπαντα μέρη ἀθρόα εἰς αὐτὸν μεταβέβληται. πάρεισι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων, συμμαχεῖν ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναίρεσιν.᾽

Μικρὸν δ᾽ ἐπισχὼν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐάσας τοὺς πολλοὺς συλλαλῆσαι περὶ τῶν παραδόξως προηγγελμένων τρίψας τε[3] τὸ μέτωπον ᾽τί οὖν, εἶπε, συμβουλεύω; μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τῆς ἀναρχίας ἣν ἡ d Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος ἐπισχεθῆναι πεποίηκεν, ἕως ἂν[4] αὐτὴ δοκιμάσῃ περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἡμᾶς πολιτεύεσθαι δεῖ. καὶ μὴ περιίδωμεν τὰ ἱερὰ κεκλῃμένα, αὐχμῶντα δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια, τὸ δὲ θέατρον ἀνεκκλησίαστον, ἄφωνα δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὴν

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[1] Μάνιος Casaubon: μάλιος A.

[2] κατακαλεῖται τὸν θεὸν A: κατακαλεῖ αὐτὸν θεὸν Kaibel.

[3] τε not in C.

[4] ἂν added by Meineke.

Aquilius, the ex-consul, who celebrated a triumph after his Sicilian campaign, bound hand and foot by a long chain to a Bastarnian seven and a half feet tall, is dragged along on foot by a man on horseback. Of all the other Roman citizens, some are prostrated before the images of the gods, while the rest have changed their dress to square cloaks [a] and once more call themselves by the countries to which they originally belonged. And every community, greeting him with more than human honours, invokes the god-king; oracles from all quarters predict his supremacy over the civilized world. Wherefore he is dispatching great armies even to Thrace and Macedonia, and all parts of Europe have gone over to his side in a body. Yes, ambassadors have come to him not only from Italic tribes, but even from the Carthaginians, demanding that they be allies to accomplish the destruction of Rome.'

"For a little while he paused after these remarks, and allowed the crowds to talk over these tidings, so unexpectedly proclaimed. Then he rubbed his forehead and said: 'What, now, am I to advise you? Tolerate no more the anarchical state of things which the Roman Senate has caused to be extended until such time as it shall decide what form of government we are to have. And let us not permit our holy places to be kept locked against us, our gymnasia in squalid decay, our theatre deserted by the Assembly, our courts voiceless, and

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[a] The Greek cloak hung square, the Roman toga had a semi-circular effect. The idea of "turncoat," commonly said to have originated with a prince of the House of Savoy, is here seen to be much earlier. Still earlier was the epithet applied to Theramenes, κόθορνος, a boot which fitted either foot.

θεῶν χρησμοῖς καθωσιωμένην πύκνα ἀφῃρημένην τοῦ δήμου. μὴ περιίδωμεν δέ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἰάκχου φωνὴν κατασεσιγασμένην καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀνάκτορον τοῖν θεοῖν κεκλῃμένον[1] καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς διατριβὰς ἀφώνους.'

e Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων λεχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκότριβος, συλλαλήσαντες αὑτοῖς οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἵλοντο τὸν Ἀθηνίωνα στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ περιπατητικὸς εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν 'ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ' εὐχαρίστησέ τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἔφη διότι 'νῦν ὑμεῖς ἑαυτῶν στρατηγεῖτε, προέστηκα δ' ἐγώ.[2] καὶ ἂν συνεπισχύσητε,[3] τοσοῦτον δυνήσομαι ὅσον κοινῇ πάντες ὑμεῖς.' ταῦτ' εἰπὼν συγκατέστησεν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς f ἄλλους ἄρχοντας, ὧν ἠβούλετο ὑποβαλὼν τὰ ὀνόματα. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τύραννον αὑτὸν ἀποδείξας ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ἀναδείξας δόγμα τὸ[4] περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τί ἠβούλετο αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοσοφία ἣν ὁ καλὸς Πυθαγόρας εἰσηγήσατο, καθάπερ ἱστόρησε Θεόπομπος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Φιλιππικῶν καὶ Ἕρμιππος ὁ 214 Καλλιμάχειος, εὐθέως καὶ οὗτος τοὺς μὲν εὖ

[1] *κεκλῃμένον* Kaibel: *κεκλιμένον* A, *κεκλεισμένον* C.
[2] *δ' ἐγὼ* Casaubon: *λέγω* A.
[3] *συνεπισχύσητε* C, *συνεπισχύσηι γε* A: *συνεπισχύητε* Dindorf, Kaibel.
[4] *τὸ* added by Kaibel.

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[a] The hill south-west of the Acropolis where the Assembly held meetings before the theatre was used for this purpose. The part played by oracles in choosing the site is not elsewhere attested, but is in accordance with all Greek custom.

[b] In Athens, Demeter and Persephone.

the Pnyx,[a] once consecrated to sacred uses by divine oracles, taken away from the people. Nor let us, men of Athens, permit the sacred voice of Iacchus to remain sealed in silence, the august temple of the Two Divinities[b] to remain closed, and the schools of the philosophers to stand voiceless.'

"Well, after many other deliverances of a like tenor uttered by this gutter-snipe,[c] the mob talked it over among themselves, and with a rush to the theatre all together, they chose Athenion commander of the military forces. And this Peripatetic,[d] coming forward in the theatre 'with a stride like that of Pythocles,'[e] thanked the Athenians and said: 'To-day you are your own commanders, although I am at your head. And if you will lend your assistance, I shall have the combined strength of all of you.' With these words, he appointed the other officers in his own interest, proposing by name those whom he desired. Not many days after, he made himself dictator—this philosopher who thus illustrated the Pythagorean doctrine regarding treachery,[f] and the meaning of that philosophic system which the noble Pythagoras introduced, as recorded by Theopompus in the eighth book of his *History of Philip*,[g] and by Hermippus, the disciple of Callimachus.[h] Then this scoundrel, contrary

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[c] lit. "house-born slave."

[d] Punning on the original sense of "one who strolls or travels everywhere."

[e] Demosthenes xix. 314; the phrase became a proverb of anyone whose manner of living was like that of the arrogant Pythocles.

[f] Pythagoras is alleged to have plotted to make himself tyrant (Laert. Diog. *Pyth.* viii. 39).

[g] *F.H.G.* i. 288.

[h] *Ibid.* iii. 41.

φρονοῦντας τῶν πολιτῶν—παρὰ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου δόγματα· ὡς ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὴν παροιμίαν τὴν λέγουσαν ‘μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν’—ἐκποδὼν εὐθὺς[1] ἐποιήσατο, φύλακας δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέστησεν, ὡς νύκτωρ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐλαβουμένους τὸ μέλλον κατὰ[2] τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς καθιμήσαντας φεύγειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀθηνίων ἱππέας ἐπαποστείλας οὓς μὲν ἐφόνευσεν, οὓς δὲ καὶ δεδεμένους κατήγαγε, δορυφόρους ἔχων πολλοὺς τῶν καταφρακτικῶν[3] καλουμένων. b συνάγων δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίας πολλάκις τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖν προσεποιεῖτο . . . καὶ πολλοῖς αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων ὡς διαπεμπομένοις πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ νεωτερίζουσιν ἐφόνευεν αὐτούς· καὶ τὰς πύλας . . . τριάκοντα καταστήσας ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης οὔτ᾽ εἰσιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον οὔτ᾽ ἐξιέναι εἴα. ἀνελάμβανεν δὲ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας πολλῶν καὶ τοσαῦτα χρήματα συνήθροισεν ὡς καὶ φρέατα πληρῶσαι πλείονα. ἐξαπέστειλεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ὁδοιδόκους τῶν ἀποχωρούντων, οἵτινες c αὐτοὺς ἀνῆγον ὡς αὐτόν· καὶ ἀκρίτους ἀπώλλυεν προβασανίσας[4] καὶ στρεβλώσας. πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ προδοσίας δίκας ἐπῆγεν ὡς τοῖς φυγάσι περὶ καθόδου συνεργοῦσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἔφευγον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις κατεδικάζοντο, αὐτοῦ τὰς ψήφους φέρον-

[1] εὐθὺς, tautological after εὐθέως, omitted in C; but the corruption goes deeper.

[2] κατὰ Meineke: διὰ AC.

[3] καταφρακτικῶν Kaibel: ἀφρακτικῶν A: φρακτικῶν C.

[4] προβασανίσας Dalechamp: προσβασανίσας A.

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[a] The gap should be filled, probably, with “in order to betray those who did.”

to the precepts of Aristotle and Theophrastus (how true is the proverb which says, 'Don't give a knife to a child!') proceeded immediately to put out of his way the more sober-minded citizens, and set guards at the gates; consequently many Athenians, apprehending what was in store for them, let themselves down over the walls with ropes by night and fled. Then Athenion sent out cavalry after them, killing some, but bringing back others as prisoners; for he had as a bodyguard many of those who are called 'completely armed.' He frequently convoked meetings of the Assembly and pretended to sympathize with the Roman cause. . . .[a] Against many persons he brought accusations to the effect that they were engaged in communicating with those who had been outlawed, and were plotting revolution; so he murdered them. And closing[b] the city gates, he posted thirty guards[b] at each, and would not permit anyone, who desired to go out or to come in, to do so. He would also confiscate the estates of many persons, and amassed so much money that it filled several cisterns. He also sent out into the country persons who acted like highwaymen, intercepting those who came from town and dragging them before him. These he would put to death without trial, after first torturing and tearing them on the rack. Against many also he brought suits for treason, alleging that they were co-operating with the refugees to effect their return. Some of these, in their fear, took to flight before the day of the trial, others were condemned in the courts, he himself taking

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[b] Some such words probably filled the gap.

τος. ἐνειργάσατο δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων ἔνδειαν, κριθίδια καὶ πυροὺς ὀλίγους διαμετρῶν. ἐξέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ὁπλίτας τοὺς θηρεύσοντας, εἴ τις τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἐντός ἐστι τῶν ὅρων ἢ τῶν
d Ἀθηναίων τις εἰς τὴν ὑπερόριον ἀποδημεῖ· καὶ τὸν ληφθέντα ἀπετυμπάνιζεν, ὧν ἐνίους καὶ προκατανάλισκε ταῖς βασάνοις. ἐκήρυσσέν τε δύντος[1] ἡλίου πάντας οἰκουρεῖν καὶ μετὰ λυχνοφόρου μηδένα φοιτᾶν.

Καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν διήρπαζεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὰ τῶν ξένων, ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ εἰς Δῆλον[2] τοῦ θεοῦ χρήματα. ἐκπέμψας γοῦν εἰς τὴν νῆσον Ἀπελλικῶντα τὸν Τήιον, πολίτην δὲ Ἀθηναίων γενόμενον, ποικιλώτατόν τινα καὶ ἀψίκορον ζήσαντα βίον· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐφιλοσόφει[3] τὰ περιπατητικά, καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλιοθήκην καὶ ἄλλας συνηγόραζε συχνὰς
e (ἦν γὰρ πολυχρήματος) τά τ' ἐκ τοῦ Μητρῴου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφισμάτων[4] ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτᾶτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ τι παλαιὸν εἴη καὶ ἀπόθετον. ἐφ' οἷς φωραθεὶς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν εἰ μὴ ἔφυγεν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πάλιν κατῆλθε, θεραπεύσας πολλούς· καὶ συναπεγράφετο τῷ Ἀθηνίωνι ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς

[1] δύντος Dindorf: δύνοντος AC.

[2] εἰς Δῆλον AC: ἐκ Δήλου Kaibel. The expression might be objectionable in classical Greek, but appears to be a natural extension of the *constructio praegnans.*

[3] καὶ after ἐφιλοσόφει deleted by Kaibel.

[4] ψηφισμάτων Kaibel: ψηφίσματα A.

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[a] The expression in the original is inaccurate from the

the votes.[a] Moreover, his activities caused a scarcity of the necessaries of life in the city, and he had to ration barley and wheat in small quantities. He also sent out over the country heavy-armed troops to catch any of those who had withdrawn from the city and might still be within the borders, or any Athenian who was travelling to a refuge beyond the borders. And anyone so caught was flogged to death, although some of them died under torture before they were flogged. He also proclaimed that all should stay indoors after sunset,[b] and nobody might go out even with a lantern.

"And he seized not merely the property of citizens, but presently he took the goods of foreigners as well, reaching out his hands even for the property of the god at Delos. At any rate, he sent to the island Apellicon of Teos, who had been made an Athenian citizen and had run a chequered and novelty-seeking career. When, for example, he professed the Peripatetic philosophy, he bought up Aristotle's library and many other books (for he was very rich), and began surreptitiously to acquire the original copies of the ancient decrees in the Metroön,[c] as well as anything else in other cities which was old and rare. Detected in these acts at Athens, he would have forfeited his life if he had not absconded. But after a short while he returned to Athens again, having won over the favour of many persons; he then enlisted in the cause of Athenion, as one who

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point of view of classical Greek idiom. In Attic *ψήφους φέρειν* means to "cast votes"; here the meaning is "collecting and manipulating the votes."

[b] The earliest record of a curfew?

[c] Temple of the Mother of the Gods, where the archives were kept.

αὐτῆς δὴ αἱρέσεως[1] ὄντι. Ἀθηνίων δ' ἐπιλαθό-
f μενος τῶν δογμάτων τῶν τοῦ περιπάτου χοίνικα
κριθῶν εἰς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας διεμέτρει τοῖς ἀνοή-
τοις Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλεκτορίδων τροφὴν καὶ οὐκ
ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς διδούς. Ἀπελλικῶν δὲ μετὰ
δυνάμεως ἐξορμήσας εἰς Δῆλον καὶ πανηγυρικῶς
μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιωτικῶς ἀναστρεφόμενος, καὶ
προφυλακὴν ἀμελεστέραν πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον μερίσας,
μάλιστα δὲ τὰ ἐξόπισθε τῆς νήσου ἐάσας ἀφύλακτα
καὶ οὐδὲ χάρακα βαλόμενος[2] ἐκοιμᾶτο. τοῦτο
215 δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ὀρόβιος στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων καὶ
φυλάσσων τὴν Δῆλον φυλάξας ἀσέληνον νύκτα
καὶ ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας, κοιμω-
μένοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἐπιπεσὼν κατέκοψε τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συστρατευομένους
ὡς βοσκήματα, ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐζώγρησε
δὲ καὶ περὶ τετρακοσίους. καὶ ὁ καλὸς στρατηγὸς
Ἀπελλικῶν ἔλαθε φυγὼν ἐκ Δήλου. πολλοὺς δὲ
καὶ συμφυγόντας κατιδὼν ὁ Ὀρόβιος εἰς ἐπαύλεις
συγκατέφλεξεν αὐταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ
πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα σὺν τῇ ἑλεπόλει, ἣν εἰς Δῆ-
b λον ἐλθὼν κατεσκευάκει. στήσας οὖν τρόπαιον ἐπὶ
τῶν τόπων ὁ Ὀρόβιος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπέγραψε·

τούσδε θανόντας ἔχει ξείνους τάφος, οἳ περὶ Δῆλον
  μαρνάμενοι ψυχὰς ὤλεσαν ἐν πελάγει,
τὴν ἱερὰν ὅτε νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι κεράιζον,
  κοινὸν Ἄρη βασιλεῖ Καππαδόκων θέμενοι.”

[1] δὴ αἱρέσεως Musurus: διαιρέσεως A.
[2] βαλόμενος Meineke: βαλλόμενος A.

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[a] lit. “city-taker,” the siege engine *par excellence* invented by Demetrius Poliorcetes. [b] Mithradates.

belonged to the same philosophic sect. Athenion, meanwhile, had forgotten the precepts of the Peripatetic school, and was rationing out a quart of barley every four days to the silly Athenians, giving them food fit for cocks, not human beings. And Apellicon, though he had set out with a military force to Delos, behaved as if he were attending a festival rather than as a true soldier, and, on the side toward the town of Delos, set a guard which was too negligent; as for the regions behind the island, he left them completely unguarded, and went to bed without even throwing up a palisade. When this came to the knowledge of Orbius, who was the Roman praetor in charge of Delos, he waited for a night when there was no moon; he then led out his troops and attacked the Athenians when they were asleep or carousing, and slaughtered them and their companions in arms like sheep, to the number of six hundred; he also took about four hundred prisoners. And this noble general Apellicon made off from Delos in secret flight. When Orbius observed many others fleeing together for refuge in farm-houses, he burned them up, houses and all, as well as all their appliances for a siege, including the siege-engine[a] which Apellicon had constructed when he came to Delos. So Orbius raised a trophy over those regions and built an altar on which he inscribed: 'These dead which the tomb holds here are strangers who lost their lives in fighting round Delos on the sea, when the Athenians, making common cause with the king[b] of the Cappadocians in battle, wasted the sacred island.'"[c]

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[a] Here ends the citation from Poseidonius, begun at 211 e.

Καὶ Ταρσοῦ δὲ Ἐπικούρειος φιλόσοφος ἐτυράννησε, Λυσίας ὄνομα· ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος στεφανηφόρος αἱρεθείς, τουτέστιν ἱερεὺς Ἡρακλέους, οὐκ ἀπετίθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἱματίου τύραννος c ἦν, πορφυροῦν μὲν μεσόλευκον[1] χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκώς, χλαμύδα δὲ ἐφεστρίδα περιβεβλημένος πολυτελῆ καὶ ὑποδούμενος λευκὰς Λακωνικάς, στέφανον δάφνης χρυσοῦν[2] ἐστεμμένος, καὶ διανέμων τὰ τῶν πλουσίων τοῖς πένησι, πολλοὺς φονεύων τῶν οὐ διδόντων.

Τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας στρατηγοί. περὶ ὧν Δημοχάρης ἔλεγεν· "ὥσπερ ἐκ θύμβρας οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο κατασκευάσαι λόγχην, οὐδ᾽ ἐκ Σωκράτους στρατιώτην ἄμεμπτον." ὁ γὰρ Πλάτων φησὶν τρεῖς στρατείας στρατεύσασθαι Σω- d κράτη, τὴν μὲν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν, τὴν δὲ εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν, τὴν δὲ εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὅτε καὶ συνέβη τὴν ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ μάχην γενέσθαι. μηδενὸς δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ἱστορηκότος[3] αὐτὸς καὶ ἀριστείων φησὶν αὐτὸν τετυχηκέναι πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυγόντων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπολομένων. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐψευδολόγηται. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεία γέγονεν ἐπὶ Ἀλκαίου ἄρχοντος Κλέωνος ἡγουμένου ἐξ ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν, ὥς φησι Θουκυδίδης. τούτων οὖν τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἀνάγκη εἶναι καὶ Σωκράτην, ᾧ πλὴν τρίβωνος καὶ βακτηρίας e οὐδὲν ἦν. τίς οὖν εἶπεν ἱστοριογράφος ἢ ποιητής;

[1] μεσόλευκον Musurus: μέσον λευκὸν A.
[2] χρυσοῦν Kaibel: χρυσῆς A.
[3] ἱστορηκότος A: ἱστορηκότος ἕτερον (ἑτέρου?) C.

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[a] Frag. 3 Turnebus; *cf.* 187 d.

[b] *Apol.* 28 E.

Again, an Epicurean philosopher came to be tyrant of Tarsus; his name was Lysias. He, once he had been chosen by his native city to be "crown-bearer," that is, priest of Heracles, refused to give up his office; on the contrary, laying aside his long robes, he made himself tyrant, putting on a purple tunic with white stripes, throwing round his shoulders a costly military cloak, putting on his feet white Laconian slippers, and crowning his head with a gold crown of laurel-pattern; he then distributed the goods of the rich among the poor, murdering many who did not offer them of their own accord.

Such are the military leaders who have risen from the ranks of philosophy. Of them Demochares[a] used to say: "Precisely as no one can make a lance-head from a leaf of savoury, so also one cannot make a blameless soldier out of a Socrates." Plato, indeed, says[b] that Socrates went on three campaigns, one against Potidaea, one against Amphipolis, and another against the Boeotians, at the time when it came to pass that a battle was fought in the precinct of Delium. And although no historian[c] has recorded this, Plato tells us himself Socrates won the prize for the bravest when all the Athenians had fled, many also having been killed. But all this is fictitious. For the expedition against Amphipolis, in the archonship of Alcaeus,[d] was made up of picked men led by Cleon, as Thucydides says.[e] So Socrates must have been one of those picked men—Socrates, who had nothing but a tattered coat and a staff! What historian or poet has mentioned it? Or where

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[c] Or, "no one else." See critical note.

[d] 422–421 B.C. The archons held office for twelve months from about July 1.

[e] v. 2.

ἢ ποῦ Θουκυδίδης τὸν Σωκράτη παρενέχρωσε[1] τὸν Πλάτωνος στρατιώτην; "τί γὰρ ἀσπίδι ξύνθημα καὶ βακτηρίᾳ;" πότε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ἐστρατεύσατο, ὡς ἐν τῷ Χαρμίδῃ εἴρηκεν ὁ Πλάτων φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀριστείων τότε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ παραχωρῆσαι; τοῦτο οὔτε Θουκυδίδου ἀλλ' οὐδ'[2] Ἰσοκράτους εἰρηκότος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους. ποίας δὲ καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἔλαβε τὰ ἀριστεῖα Σωκράτης καὶ τί πράξας ἐπιφανὲς καὶ διάσημον; καθόλου μάχης μηδεμιᾶς συμπεσούσης,
f ὡς ἱστόρηκε Θουκυδίδης. οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ τερατολογίᾳ ὁ Πλάτων ἐπάγει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ γενομένην, μᾶλλον δὲ πεπλασμένην ἀνδραγαθίαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Δήλιον ᾐρήκει[3] Σωκράτης, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Φιλοσωκράτην, ἅμα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀσχημόνως ἂν ἔφυγε, Παγώνδου[4] δύο τέλη περιπέμψαντος τῶν ἱππέων ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς περὶ τὸν λόφον. τότε γὰρ
216 οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Δήλιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ Ὠρωπόν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς[5] Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος· Βοιωτοὶ δ' ἐφεπόμενοι ἔκτεινον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἱππεῖς οἵ τε αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ[5] Λοκρῶν. τοιούτου οὖν κυδοιμοῦ καὶ φόβου καταλαβόντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, μόνος Σωκράτης "βρενθυόμενος καὶ τὠφθαλμὼ παραβάλλων" εἱστήκει

[1] παρενέχρωσε A: παρενέκρουσε Kaibel: παρενεχώρισε Madvig.

[2] οὐδ' Dindorf: οὔτ' A.

[3] ᾐρήκει Porson: ᾕρηκε A.

[4] Παγώνδου Musurus: ἄγων δ' οὐ A.

[5] πρὸς and οἱ added from Thucydides.

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[a] *Cf.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 47 τί κόθορνος καὶ ῥόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην; "What means this conjunction of soft buskin with bludgeon?" See Kock iii. 498.

[b] The answer is, "in 432 B.C."

[c] 153 B.

[d] *Symp.* 220 E.

has Thucydides touched even slightly upon Socrates, this warrior of Plato? "What is there in common between a shield and a staff?"[a] And when did he go on a campaign against Potidaea,[b] as Plato has asserted in the *Charmides*,[c] alleging that on that occasion he also resigned the prize for the bravest to Alcibiades.[d] Neither Thucydides, nor even Isocrates *On the Team of Horses*,[e] has mentioned it. In what battle did Socrates receive the prize for the bravest, and what striking and conspicuous feat did he perform? No battle whatever occurred then, according to the account in Thucydides. But not content with this narrative of his prodigy, Plato adds the battle which occurred in the precinct of Delium,[f] or rather, a story of fictitious valour. For even if Socrates had captured Delium, to quote the account given by Herodicus, the disciple of Crates, in his *Against the Socrates-worshipper*, he must have fled in disgrace with the mob, since Pagondas had unexpectedly sent two troops of cavalry round the hill.[g] On that occasion, to be sure, some of the Athenians fled to Delium, others to the coast, others again to Oropus, and still others to Mount Parnes; but the Boeotians, particularly their own cavalry and that of the Locrians, followed close upon them and put them to death. When, then, such confusion and panic had seized the Athenians, is it likely that Socrates, "with head cocked high, his eyes rolling this side and that,"[h] stood his ground alone and threw back

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[e] Since this is a speech in defence and laudation of Alcibiades, it is difficult to see why Isocrates should have mentioned the superiority of Socrates over his hero.

[f] 424 B.C.

[g] Thuc. iv. 96.

[h] First said of Socrates by Aristoph. *Nub.* 362, quoted by Plato, *Symp.* 221 B.

ἀναστέλλων τὸ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν ἱππικόν;
καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ οὐ Θουκυδίδης
μέμνηται, οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ποιητής.[1] πῶς δὲ καὶ
b τῶν ἀριστείων Ἀλκιβιάδῃ παραχωρεῖ τῷ μηδ'
ὅλως κεκοινωνηκότι ταύτης τῆς στρατείας; ἐν δὲ
τῷ Κρίτωνι ὁ τῇ Μνημοσύνῃ φίλος Πλάτων οὐδὲ
ποιήσασθαι πώποτε[2] ἀποδημίαν τὸν Σωκράτη ἔξω
τῆς εἰς Ἰσθμὸν πορείας[3] εἴρηκε. καὶ Ἀντισθένης
δ' ὁ Σωκρατικὸς περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ
Πλάτωνι ἱστορεῖ. "οὔκ ἐστιν δ' ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος
οὗτος." χαρίζεται γὰρ καὶ ὁ κύων οὗτος πολλὰ
τῷ Σωκράτει· ὅθεν οὐδετέρῳ αὐτῶν δεῖ πιστεύειν
σκοπὸν ἔχοντας Θουκυδίδην. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντισθένης
καὶ προσεπάγει τῇ ψευδογραφίᾳ λέγων οὕτως·
c "ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀκούομεν κἀν τῇ πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς μάχῃ
τὰ ἀριστεῖά σε λαβεῖν.—εὐφήμει, ὦ ξένε· Ἀλκι-
βιάδου τὸ γέρας, οὐκ ἐμόν.—σοῦ γε δόντος, ὡς
ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν." ὁ δὲ Πλάτωνος Σωκράτης εἰς
Ποτίδαιαν λέγει παρεῖναι καὶ τῶν ἀριστείων
Ἀλκιβιάδῃ παρακεχωρηκέναι. προτερεῖ δὲ κατὰ
πάντας τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ Δήλιον στρατείας
ἡ περὶ Ποτίδαιαν, ἧς Φορμίων ἐστρατήγει.

Πάντ' οὖν ψεύδονται οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους γράφοντες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται,

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[1] ποιητής AC: ποιητῆς, "fictitious," Lumb. But the order of words is against this. Kaibel, assuming a lacuna after οὐδείς, conjectured οὔτε συγγραφεὺς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ποιητής, "not only no historian, but not even a poet either." *Cf.* 215 e.

[2] πώποτε Plato: ποτὲ AC.

[3] πορείας AC: θεωρίας Wilamowitz. The reference to the Isthmus, omitted in the best MSS. of Plato, is generally deleted by the editors of Plato. Athenaeus, or rather Herodicus who lived *ca.* 125 B.C. (*cf.* 188 f, note c), had it

the Boeotian and Locrian horsemen?[a] Not Thucydides, not any poet besides, makes mention of this bravery. Again, how could he resign the prize for the bravest in favour of Alcibiades, who had not taken the smallest part in this campaign? And in the *Crito*,[b] this devotee of the goddess of memory, Plato, says explicitly that Socrates had never made a journey abroad, excepting the excursion to the Isthmus.[c] And Antisthenes, the disciple of Socrates, tells the same story about the prize for the bravest that Plato tells. "But this tale is not sooth."[d] For this Cynic, as well as Plato, displays favouritism toward Socrates in many ways; consequently neither of them should be trusted by those who have Thucydides in regard. Antisthenes, in fact, even adds to the fiction these words: "We hear that in the battle with the Boeotians, also, you won the prize for the bravest.—Hush, stranger! That glory belongs to Alcibiades, not to me.—Yes, for you gave it to him, as we hear." And Plato's Socrates says that he was present at Potidaea, and resigned the prize for the bravest to Alcibiades. But according to all the historians, the expedition to Potidaea, under command of Phormion, preceded that against Delium.

At all points, then, the philosophers are false, and they fail to notice that they record many things

[a] Cicero, *Div.* i. 54, says that Socrates was warned by his divine monitor to go by another road!

[b] 52 B.

[c] To attend the Isthmian Games held near Corinth. But see critical note.

[d] Stesichorus, *P.L.G.*^{4} frag. 32, in the famous *Palinode* wherein he retracted what he had said against Helen.

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in his text, though its omission would have strengthened his argument.

d καθάπερ οὐδ' ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν, ὃς ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ
ὑποτίθεται Καλλίαν τὸν Ἱππονίκου Αὐτολύκου
τοῦ Λύκωνος ἐρῶντα καὶ νενικηκότος
αὐτοῦ παγκράτιον ἑστίασιν ποιούμενον καὶ σὺν
τοῖς ἄλλοις δαιτυμόσι παρόντα αὐτὸν[1] τὸν ἴσως
μηδὲ γεννηθέντα ἢ περὶ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν
ὑπάρχοντα. ἐστὶν δὲ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς καθ' ὃν
Ἀριστίων ἄρχων ἦν. ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ Εὔπολις τὸν
Αὐτόλυκον διδάξας διὰ Δημοστράτου χλευάζει τὴν
e νίκην τοῦ Αὐτολύκου. πάλιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ποιεῖ τὸν
Σωκράτην λέγοντα ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ ταυτί· "καίτοι
Παυσανίας γε ὁ Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐραστὴς
ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀκρασίᾳ συγκαλινδουμένων
εἴρηκεν ὡς καὶ στράτευμα ἀλκιμώτατον ἂν
γένοιτο ἐκ παιδικῶν καὶ ἐραστῶν. τούτους γὰρ ἂν
ἔφη οἴεσθαι μάλιστα ἂν αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους
ἀπολιπεῖν, θαυμαστὰ λέγων, εἴ γε οἱ ψόγου τε
ἀφροντιστεῖν καὶ ἀναισχυντεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ἐθιζόμενοι οὗτοι μάλιστ' αἰσχύνονται αἰσχρόν τι
f ποιεῖν." ὅτι μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν
Παυσανίας ἔξεστι μαθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Πλάτωνος
Συμποσίου. Παυσανίου γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα σύγγραμμα,
οὐδ' εἰσῆκται παρ' ἄλλῳ λαλῶν οὗτος περὶ χρήσεως
ἐραστῶν καὶ παιδικῶν ἢ παρὰ Πλάτωνι·
πλὴν εἴτε κατέψευσται τοῦτο Ξενοφῶν εἴτ' ἄλλως
γεγραμμένῳ τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐνέτυχε Συμποσίῳ,

[1] *αὐτὸν* added by Casaubon.

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[a] 421–420 B.C.

[b] The comic poets often employed the services of friends in producing a play.

[c] 8. 32.

[d] Athenaeus (or Herodicus) at first assumes that Xenophon derived all that he knew of Pausanias from Plato. But this

anachronistically; just so even the noble Xenophon, in the *Symposium*, represents Callias, the son of Hipponicus, as having a passion for Autolycus, the son of Lycon, and giving a banquet in his honour when he was victor in the pancratium; he places himself in the scene with the other guests at dinner, though probably he had not been even born then, or at least was in his infancy still. Now the time of this scene was the archonship of Aristion.[a] For in this year Eupolis brought out his *Autolycus* by the agency of Demostratus,[b] and satirized the victory of Autolycus. Again, Xenophon makes Socrates say these words in his *Symposium*[c]: "And yet Pausanias, the lover of the poet Agathon, defends those who wallow in lust, saying that a very valiant army could be formed of lovers and their favourites. For he said that he should expect that they, more than all others, would be ashamed to desert one another, a preposterous assertion, which assumes that men who habitually disregard censure and are lost to shame would scruple more than all others to do anything dishonourable." That, however, Pausanias never said any such thing one may learn from Plato's *Symposium*.[d] As for Pausanias, indeed, I know of no work by him, nor has he even been introduced as a character speaking on the usefulness of lovers and their favourites in any other author than Plato; but waiving the question whether Xenophon has invented all this, or whether he had read a *Symposium* by Plato in different form from

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is impossible, he argues, because the events in Xenophon's *Symposium* antedate those narrated by Plato. Either, then, Xenophon invented it all, or Plato's *Symposium* once contained other matter.

παρείσθω· τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἀστόχημα
λεκτέον. Ἀριστίων, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ συμπόσιον ὑπόκειται
συνηγμένον, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν Εὐφήμου
217 πρότερος ἦρξεν, καθ' ὃν[1] Πλάτων τὰ Ἀγάθωνος
νικητήρια γέγραφεν, ἐν οἷς Παυσανίας τὰ περὶ τῶν
ἐρωτικῶν διεξέρχεται. θαυμαστὸν οὖν καὶ τερατῶδες,
εἰ τὰ μήπω ῥηθέντα, μετὰ δὲ τέτταρα ἔτη
ἐπιχειρηθέντα παρ' Ἀγάθωνι Σωκράτης παρὰ
Καλλίᾳ δειπνῶν εὐθύνει ὡς[2] οὐ δεόντως ῥηθέντα.
ὅλως δὲ λῆρός ἐστι τῷ Πλάτωνι τὸ Συμπόσιον.
ὅτε γὰρ Ἀγάθων ἐνίκα, Πλάτων ἦν δεκατεσσάρων
ἐτῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται
Ληναίοις, Πλάτων δὲ γεννᾶται ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου
τοῦ μετ' Εὐθύδημον ἄρξαντος· δύο δὲ καὶ
b ὀγδοήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη μετήλλαξεν ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου
τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίμαχον, ὅς ἐστιν ὀγδοηκοστὸς καὶ
δεύτερος. ἀπὸ[3] δὲ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ τῆς Πλάτωνος
γενέσεως τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατός ἐστιν ἄρχων
Εὔφημος, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ ἐπινίκια Ἀγάθωνος ἑστιῶνται.
καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πλάτων δηλοῖ τὴν συνουσίαν ταύτην
πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγονέναι, λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ·
" . . . εἰ νεωστὶ ἡγεῖ τὴν συνουσίαν
c γεγονέναι, ὥστε κἀμὲ παραγενέσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ,
ἔφη.[4] πόθεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαύκων[5]; οὐκ οἶσθ'

[1] ὃν Musurus: ἣν (sc. ἀρχὴν ?) A.
[2] ὡς added by Kaibel.
[3] ἀπὸ Musurus: ἐπὶ A.
[4] ἔφη Plato: ἔφην A.
[5] ὦ Γλαύκων Plato: ὦ λύκων A.

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[a] 417–416 B.C. Agathon's victory occurred in February, 416: the Lenaea, festival of "Dionysus of the wine-press," was held in the latter part of February.

[b] 417–416 B.C.; see last note.

[c] 430–429 B.C.

that now extant, we must emphasize his error in chronology. Aristion, in whose archonship Xenophon's symposium is supposed to be held, was archon four years before Euphemus,[a] in whose year Plato has placed the celebration of Agathon's victory; in the course of this celebration Pausanias delivers his views on love. It is, therefore, prodigiously surprising that words not yet spoken or essayed until four years after, in the house of Agathon, should have been reproved as improper by Socrates when dining at the house of Callias. But Plato's *Symposium* is nonsense pure and simple. For when Agathon won his victory, Plato was only fourteen years old. Agathon was crowned at the Lenaea in the archonship of Euphemus,[b] but Plato was born in the archonship of Apollodorus,[c] who succeeded Euthydemus[d]; he lived for eighty-two years and departed this life in the archonship of Theophilus,[e] who succeeded Callimachus, and was the eighty-second archon.[f] From Apollodorus and the birth of Plato Euphemus makes the fourteenth archon, and it was in his year that Agathon's victory was celebrated by a dinner. Plato himself makes it clear that this party occurred a long while before when he says in his *Symposium*[g]: " . . . 'if you imagine that the party is a recent occurrence, so that I too could be there.' 'Indeed I did,' he replied. 'But how could that be, Glaucon?

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[d] Euthynus *I.A.* iv. 22 a.

[e] 348–347 B.C.

[f] After Apollodorus, not counting the year of "anarchy," 404–403 B.C.

[g] 172 c. Apollodorus, one of Socrates' youngest disciples, says: "It would seem that your informant has not given you a clear account if you imagine that this party occurred so recently that I too could be there."

ὅτι πολλῶν ἐτῶν Ἀγάθων οὐκ ἐπιδεδήμηκε;”
καὶ προελθών[1] φησιν· “ἀλλ᾽ εἰπέ μοι, πότε
ἐγένετο ἡ συνουσία αὕτη; κἀγὼ εἶπον ὅτι παίδων
ἔτι ὄντων ἡμῶν, ὅτε τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ ἐνίκησεν ὁ
Ἀγάθων.” ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ ὁ Πλάτων παρὰ τοὺς
χρόνους ἁμαρτάνει δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ πολλῶν. κατὰ
γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα ποιητήν· “ὅττι κεν ἐπ᾽ ἀκαιρίμαν
γλῶτταν ἔλθῃ,” τοῦτο μὴ διακρίνας γράφει. οὐ
γὰρ ἀγράφως τι ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ[2] ἐσκεμμένως,
d ὡς ἐν τῷ Γοργίᾳ γράφων φησίν· “ἄθλιος ἄρα
οὗτος ὁ Ἀρχέλαός ἐστι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον.—
εἴπερ γε, ὦ φίλε, ἄδικος.” εἶτα ῥητῶς εἰπὼν ὡς
κατέχοντος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν Ἀρχελάου
προβὰς γράφει τάδε· “καὶ Περικλέα τοῦτον τὸν[3]
νεωστὶ τετελευτηκότα.” εἰ δὲ νεωστὶ[4] τετελεύτηκε
Περικλῆς, Ἀρχέλαος οὔπω κύριός ἐστι τῆς
ἀρχῆς· εἰ δ᾽ οὗτος βασιλεύει, πρὸ πολλοῦ πάνυ
χρόνου ἀπέθανε Περικλῆς. Περδίκκας τοίνυν πρὸ
Ἀρχελάου βασιλεύει, ὡς μὲν ὁ Ἀκάνθιός φησιν
e Νικομήδης, ἔτη μα´, Θεόπομπος δὲ λε´, Ἀναξιμένης
μ´, Ἱερώνυμος κη´, Μαρσύας δὲ καὶ Φιλόχορος
κγ´. τούτων οὖν διαφόρως ἱστορουμένων
λάβωμεν τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀριθμὸν τὰ κγ´ ἔτη.
Περικλῆς δ᾽ ἀποθνῄσκει κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τοῦ
Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου ἄρχοντος Ἐπαμείνονος,

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[1] προελθών Musurus: προσελθὼν A.

[2] ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πάνυ is necessary to the argument, but the corruption lies deep.

[3] τὸν added from Plato.

[4] εἰ δὲ νεωστὶ Musurus: εἰδέναι εἰ δὲ νεωστὶ A.

Don't you know that Agathon has not lived here for many years?' " And going on he says: " 'Tell me, please, when did that party take place?' And I said: 'We were still boys when Agathon won a victory with his tragedy.' " But that Plato[a] makes many mistakes in chronology can be proved by many instances. To quote the poet who said, "Whatsoever cometh untimely to the tongue,"[b] Plato writes this down without discrimination. To be sure, he never said anything that he did not put into writing, but he wrote it with scarcely[c] any care, as when he says in the *Gorgias*[d]: "According to your contention, then, this prince Archelaus is a wretched man.—Certainly, my friend, if he is an unrighteous man." And then, after expressly speaking of Archelaus as being in possession of the throne of Macedonia, he proceeds to set down the following[e]: "And this Pericles, who has died recently."[f] But if Pericles has died recently, Archelaus cannot yet be in possession of the throne; on the other hand, granting that Archelaus is king, Pericles died a very long time before him. Perdiccas, then, was in fact king before Archelaus for a period of forty-one years, according to Nicomedes of Acanthus; Theopompus says thirty-five, Anaximenes forty, Hieronymus twenty-eight, Marsyas and Philochorus twenty-three. Now, since these records are diverse, let us take the smallest number, twenty-three years. Pericles died during the third year of the Peloponnesian war,[g] in the archonship

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[a] As well as Xenophon.

[b] *P.L.G.*⁴ iii. 717.

[c] See critical note.

[d] 471 A.

[e] 503 C.

[f] In 429 B.C.

[g] 431–404 B.C.

ἐφ' οὗ τελευτᾷ . . .[1] Περδίκκας καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρχέλαος διαδέχεται. πῶς οὖν νεωστὶ κατὰ Πλάτωνα τελευτᾷ Περικλῆς; ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ Γοργίᾳ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν Σωκράτη ποιεῖ λέγοντα· f “καὶ πέρυσιν βουλεύειν λαχών, ἐπειδὴ ἡ φυλὴ ἐπρυτάνευε καὶ ἔδει με ἐπιψηφίζειν, γέλωτα παρεῖχον καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάμην ἐπιψηφίσαι.” τοῦτο ὁ Σωκράτης οὐ κατὰ ἀδυναμίαν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἠβούλετο λύειν δημοκρατίας νόμους. παρίστησι δὲ τοῦτο σαφῶς ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑλληνικῶν ἐκτιθεὶς οὕτως· “τῶν δὲ πρυτανεών τινων οὐ φασκόντων προ- 218 θήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, αὖθις Καλλίξεινος ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας· οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν ἅπαντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου. οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πάντα ποιήσειν.” οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διαψηφισμὸς ὁ γενόμενος κατὰ τῶν περὶ Ἐρασινίδην στρατηγῶν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Ἀργινούσσαις ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἀπολομένους οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλίου, τῆς Περικλέους τελευτῆς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρσιν.

b Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ διάλογος,

[1] The gap cannot be filled with certainty. Casaubon supplied Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Περδίκκας διαδέχεται· ὃς ἐβασίλευεν ἕως Καλλίου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ τελευτᾷ, “Alexander (died 429 B.C.) and Perdiccas succeeded to the throne; P. was king until the archonship of Callias (406/5 B.C.), when he died”; but the chronology is against this.

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[a] 429–428 B.C.

[b] *Sc.* Alexander? See crit. note.

[c] 473 end.

[d] Antiochis; on the Prytanes see 187 d, note h. The behaviour of Socrates when chairman of the Prytanes is

of Epameinon,[a] in whose year died . . .[b] Perdiccas; and Archelaus succeeded to the throne. How, then, could Pericles have died "recently," as Plato says? Again, in the same *Gorgias*[c] Plato makes Socrates say: "Last year I was chosen by lot a member of the Council, and when my tribe[d] was prytanizing, and it became my duty to put a question to vote, I only caused mirth, and was unable to put the question." But Socrates did this not because of any incapacity, but rather because of his courageous devotion to the right; for he could not consent to violate the laws of the commonwealth. Xenophon makes this clear in the first book of his *Hellenica*[e]: "When some of the Prytanes refused to put the question[f] which was contrary to the laws, once more Callixeinus rose and denounced them. And the mob shouted that the recusants should be brought to trial; so all the Prytanes, in fear of their lives, promised that they would put the question, excepting Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus. He said that he would not, but would do everything according to the laws." The vote here mentioned is the one taken against Erasinides and the other commanders associated with him, because they failed to pick up the bodies of the men lost at Arginussae in the sea-fight. This fight occurred in the archonship of Callias,[g] twenty-four years after the death of Pericles.

Nor is this all. The conversation in the *Protagoras*,

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described by Plato, *Apol.* 32 B, agreeing substantially with Xenophon. This defence of Socrates, extending to 218 a (πάντα ποιήσειν), is interposed by Athenaeus himself in the citation from Herodicus.

[e] i 7. 14.

[f] To condemn to death the generals collectively and without trial.

[g] 406–405 B.C. The battle was fought September, 406.

μετὰ τὴν Ἱππονίκου τελευτὴν γενόμενος παρειληφότος
ἤδη τὴν οὐσίαν Καλλίου, τοῦ Πρωταγόρου
μέμνηται[1] παραγεγονότος τὸ δεύτερον οὐ πολλαῖς
πρότερον ἡμέραις. ὁ δ' Ἱππόνικος ἐπὶ μὲν
Εὐθυδήμου ἄρχοντος στρατηγῶν παρατέτακται
μετὰ Νικίου πρὸς Ταναγραίους καὶ τοὺς παραβοηθοῦντας
Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῇ μάχῃ νενίκηκε.
τέθνηκε δὲ πρὸ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλκαίου διδασκαλίας
τῶν Εὐπόλιδος Κολάκων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ
c τὸ εἰκός. πρόσφατον γάρ τινα τοῦ Καλλίου τὴν
παράληψιν τῆς οὐσίας ἐμφαίνει τὸ δρᾶμα. ἐν
οὖν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι Εὔπολις τὸν Πρωταγόραν
ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντα εἰσάγει, Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τῷ
Κόννῳ δύο πρότερον ἔτεσιν διδαχθέντι οὐ καταριθμεῖ
αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τῶν φροντιστῶν χορῷ. δῆλον
οὖν ὡς μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν χρόνων παραγέγονεν.
ὁ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὸν Ἠλεῖον Ἱππίαν συμπαρόντα
ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ μετά τινων ἰδίων πολιτῶν,
οὓς[2] οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀσφαλῶς διατρίβειν
d πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἐνιαυσίας ἐπὶ Ἰσάρχου[3] Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος
συντελεσθῆναι σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ τὸν διάλογον
ὑφίσταται γινόμενον περὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους
καθ' οὓς αἱ σπονδαὶ προσφάτως ἐγεγόνεσαν· λέγει
γοῦν· "εἰ γὰρ εἶεν ἄνθρωποι ἄγριοι οἵους πέρυσι
Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ.[4]"

[1] μέμνηται added by Casaubon.
[2] οὓς Musurus: ὡς A.
[3] τοῦ after Ἰσάρχου deleted by Musurus.
[4] ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ Schweighäuser: ἐπιλήναια A.

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[a] 309 D.
[b] 431–430 B.C. See 217 a, note d.
[c] 422–421 B.C.
[d] Kock i. 297.
[e] Kock i. 673; the title is the name of Socrates' music teacher; the play was performed with the first *Clouds* of

which took place after the death of Hipponicus, when Callias had by this time succeeded to his property, mentions[a] Protagoras as having arrived on his second visit to Athens just a few days before. But in the archonship of Euthydemus,[b] Hipponicus is in the battle-line as a commanding officer associated with Nicias against the Tanagraeans and other Boeotians who came to their aid; and he is victor in the battle. He is dead, however, probably not long before the production of *The Flatterers*, by Eupolis, in the archonship of Alcaeus[c]; at least so we must infer, because this play shows that Callias's inheriting of the property was then a recent event. In this play, then, Eupolis[d] represents Protagoras as being in town, whereas Ameipsias in *Connus*,[e] which was brought out two years previously, does not include Protagoras in his chorus of "Thinkers." It is evident, then, that Protagoras came to Athens between these two dates. But Plato represents Hippias of Elis as also present on the scene in the *Protagoras*,[f] along with certain of his own fellow-citizens, who could hardly live at Athens in safety before the conclusion of the year's truce in the archonship of Isarchus, month Elaphebolion.[g] He, however, assumes that the dialogue took place about the time when this truce had just been made; at any rate he says[h]: "For if there should be savages such as the poet Pherecrates portrayed last year in the play which he brought out at the Lenaea." Now *The Savages*

Aristophanes, and adjudged superior, at the City Dionysia, March 423 B.C. Like the *Clouds*, Ameipsias's play satirized the new education.

[f] 314 C, 315 D.

[g] 14th day; end of March, 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 117-18). Isarchus was archon 424–423 B.C.

[h] *Prot.* 327 D.

ἐδιδάχθησαν δὲ οἱ Ἄγριοι ἐπ᾽ Ἀριστίωνος ἄρχοντος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἐστιν ἄρχων Ἀστύφιλος, πέμπτος ὢν ἀπὸ Ἰσάρχου, καθ᾽ ὃν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο. Ἴσαρχος γάρ, εἶτ᾽ Ἀμεινίας, μεθ᾽ ὃν Ἀλκαῖος, e εἶτ᾽ Ἀριστίων, εἶτ᾽ Ἀστύφιλος. παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ διαλόγῳ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας παράγει πολεμίους ὄντας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἱππίαν, μὴ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας αὐτῆς μενούσης.

Κἀν ἄλλοις δ᾽ ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ Χαιρεφῶντα ἐρωτῆσαι τὴν Πυθίαν εἴ τις εἴη Σωκράτους σοφώτερος· καὶ τὴν ἀνελεῖν μηδένα. κἀν τούτοις δὲ μὴ συμφωνῶν Ξενοφῶν φησι[1]· "Χαιρεφῶντος γάρ ποτε ἐπερωτήσαντος ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων πολλῶν παρόντων μηδένα f εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον." πῶς οὖν εὔλογον ἢ πιθανὸν Σωκράτη τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι σοφώτατον ἁπάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐπισταμένου θεοῦ ἀναρρηθῆναι; εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι σοφία, τὸ μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τὸ πάντα εἰδέναι φαυλότης ἂν εἴη. τίς δ᾽ ἦν χρεία τῷ Χαιρεφῶντι παρενοχλεῖν τὸν θεὸν περὶ Σωκράτους πυνθανόμενον; αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἀξιόπιστος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγων ὡς οὔκ ἐστι 219 σοφός. "βλὰξ γάρ τις ἦν τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐρωτῶν τὸν θεόν," ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιαῦτα, τίνα[2] τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐρίων ἄλλ᾽ ἐστὶ μαλακώτερα, εἰ τῶν ἐν Βάκτροις καμήλων[3] εἰσί τινες δυνατώτεροι, ἢ εἰ Σωκράτους ἐστί τις σιμότερος; τοὺς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα πυνθανομένους εὐστόχως ἐπιρραπίζει ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ

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[1] Ξενοφῶν φησι Dindorf: Ξενοφῶντι φησὶ A: Ξενοφῶν, τί φησι; Schweighäuser.

[2] τοιαῦτα, τίνα Kaibel: τοιαῦτα τινὰ A.

[3] καμήλων Boissonade: καὶ μήδων A.

was produced in the archonship of Aristion[a]; after him Astyphilus was archon, and he was the fifth archon after Isarchus, in whose year the truce was made. The archons, namely, were Isarchus, then Ameinias, after him Alcaeus, then Aristion, then Astyphilus. Plato, then, contrary to history, brings to Athens in his dialogue Hippias and others hostile to the city, though there was no truce at the time.

In another passage,[b] also, Plato says that Chaerephon asked the Delphic priestess whether there was anyone wiser than Socrates; and she made response that no one was wiser. But on this point, again, Xenophon does not agree; for he says[c]: "On one occasion, in fact, Chaerephon put a question at Delphi on my behalf, and Apollo returned answer before many witnesses that no man was more just or sober than I." How, then, is it reasonable or probable that Socrates, who confessed that he knew nothing, should have been proclaimed by the god who knows all things as the wisest of all men? For if that is wisdom, to know nothing, then to know all things must be stupidity. And what was the use in Chaerephon's bothering the god by his question about Socrates? For Socrates was himself entitled to credence when he said on his own behalf that he was not wise. "A fool, indeed, was he who asked such questions of the god[d]"—as foolish as if he asked, for instance: "What other wool is softer than the Attic?" "Are there any camels stronger than the Bactrian?" "Is there anybody with a flatter nose than Socrates's?" For persons who put such questions to the god are appropriately rebuked by

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[a] 421–420 B.C.

[b] *Apol.* 21 A.

[c] (Xen.) *Apol.* 14.

[d] A line from some comic poet.

τὸν πυθόμενον, εἴτ᾽ Αἴσωπός ἐστιν ὁ λογοποιὸς ἢ ἄλλος τις,

> πῶς ἂν πλουτήσαιμι, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ;

χλευάζων ἀπεκρίνατο·

> εἰ τὸ μέσον κτήσαιο Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ὧν ὁ Πλάτων εἴρηκε περὶ b Σωκράτους τῶν κωμικῶν τις[1] εἴρηκεν, οὔθ᾽ ὅτι μαίας βλοσυρᾶς υἱὸς ἦν οὔθ᾽ ὅτι Ξανθίππη χαλεπὴ ἦν γυνή, ἥτις καὶ νιπτῆρας αὐτοῦ κατέχει τῆς κεφαλῆς, οὔθ᾽ ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδῃ συνεκοιμήθη ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν γενόμενος χλαῖναν. καίτοι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῦτο ἐκκωδωνισθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ συμπαρόντος[2] κατὰ Πλάτωνα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐσίγησε τοῦτ᾽ Ἀριστοφάνης . . .[3] ὡς τοὺς νέους διαφθείροντος. Ἀσπασία μέντοι ἡ σοφὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους διδάσκαλος c τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων ἐν τοῖς φερομένοις ὡς αὐτῆς ἔπεσιν, ἅπερ Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος παρέθετο, φησὶν οὕτως·

> Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔλαθές με πόθῳ δηχθεὶς φρένα τὴν σὴν
> παιδὸς Δεινομάχης καὶ Κλεινίου. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπάκουσον,
> εἰ βούλει σοι ἔχειν εὖ παιδικά· μηδ᾽ ἀπιθήσῃς
> ἀγγέλῳ, ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ· καί σοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἔσται.
> κἀγὼ ὅπως ἤκουσα, χαρᾶς ὕπο σῶμα λιπάνθη[4]

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[1] οὐδ᾽ ὧν . . . εἴρηκεν . . . κωμικῶν τις A: οὐδὲν ὧν . . . εἶπε . . . οὐδὲ κωμικός τις C.

[2] συμπαρόντος added by Gulick.

[3] Supply ὅστις κατηγορεῖ Σωκράτους.

[4] λιπάνθη Kaibel: λιπαίνω A.

him; like the man (whether the fable-maker Aesop or someone else) who inquired: "How may I get rich, son of Zeus and Leto?" The god mockingly replied: "By acquiring what lies between Corinth and Sicyon."[a]

But further: not one of the scandals uttered by Plato concerning Socrates is mentioned even by any comic poet; for example, that he was the son of a strapping midwife,[b] or that Xanthippe was a shrew who poured slops over his head,[c] or that he lay down to sleep with Alcibiades under the same coverlet.[d] And yet this last must inevitably have been proclaimed with the ringing of bells by Aristophanes, who was present at the symposium, according to Plato; Aristophanes would never have hushed up this bit of gossip, seeing that he accused Socrates[e] of corrupting the young men. The clever Aspasia, to be sure, who was Socrates' teacher in rhetoric, says in the verses which are extant under her name[f] and which are quoted by Herodicus, the disciple of Crates: "Socrates, I have not failed to notice that thy heart is smitten with desire for the son of Deinomache and Cleinias. But hearken, if thou wouldst prosper in thy suit. Disregard not my message, and it will be much better for thee. For so soon as I heard, my body was suffused with the glow of joy,

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[a] A very rich territory, claimed by both Corinth and Sicyon. A private individual had as much chance of buying it as a man to-day might have of buying the City or Wall Street. For the views of Socrates concerning those who asked trivial questions of the oracle see Xen. *Mem.* i. 1. 9.

[b] μαίας μάλα γενναίας ("buxom") καὶ βλοσυρᾶς Φαιναρέτης, *Theaet.* 149 A.

[c] Not in Plato!

[d] *Symp.* 219 B.

[e] See crit. note.

[f] *P.L.G.*^{4} ii. 288, where the verses are ascribed to Socrates himself.

d ἱδρῶτι, βλεφάρων δὲ γόος πέσεν οὐκ ἀθελήτῳ.
στέλλου πλησάμενος θυμὸν Μούσης κατόχοιο,
ᾗ τόνδ᾽ αἱρήσεις, ὠσὶν δ᾽ ἐνίει[1] ποθέουσιν.[2]
ἀμφοῖν γὰρ φιλίας ἥδ᾽ ἀρχή· τῇδε καθέξεις
αὐτόν, προσβάλλων ἀκοαῖς ὀπτήρια θυμοῦ.

Κυνηγεῖ οὖν ὁ καλὸς Σωκράτης ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλον ἔχων τὴν Μιλησίαν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ αὐτὸς θηρεύεται, ὥς ὁ Πλάτων ἔφη, λινοστατούμενος ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου. e καὶ μὴν οὐ διαλείπει γε κλαίων[3] ὥς ἄν, οἶμαι, δυσημερῶν. ἰδοῦσα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν οἵῳ ἦν καταστήματι Ἀσπασία φησίν·

τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, φίλε Σώκρατες; ἦ σ᾽ ἀνακινεῖ
στέρνοις ἐνναίων σκηπτὸς πόθος ὄμμασι θραυσθεὶς
παιδὸς ἀνικήτου, τὸν ἐγὼ τιθασόν σοι ὑπέστην
ποιῆσαι;

ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἤρα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου δῆλον ποιεῖ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ, καίτοι μικρὸν f ἀπολείποντος τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. λέγει δ᾽ οὕτως· "πόθεν, ὦ Σώκρατες, φαίνει; ἢ δηλαδὴ ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίου τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ὥραν; καὶ μήν μοι καὶ πρώην ἰδόντι καλὸς ἐφαίνετο ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔτι· ἀνὴρ μέντοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥς γε ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ πώγωνος ἤδη 220 ὑποπιμπλάμενος.—εἶτα τί δὴ τοῦτ᾽; οὐ[4] σὺ μέντοι Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτης εἶ, ὃς ἔφη χαριεστάτην ἥβην εἶναι τοῦ ὑπηνήτου, ἣν νῦν Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτὸς[5] ἔχει;

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[1] ὠσὶν Kaibel, δ᾽ ἐνίει Wilamowitz: ωσιδεινη A.

[2] ποθέουσιν Bothe: ποθοισιν A.

[3] κλαίων Schweighäuser: καλλίων A.

[4] τοῦτ᾽; οὐ Plato: τούτου A.

[5] αὐτὸς not in Plato.

and tears not unwelcome fell from my eyelids. Restrain thyself, filling thy soul with the conquering Muse; and with her aid thou shalt win him; pour her into the ears of his desire. For she is the true beginning of love in both; through her thou shalt master him, by offering to his ear gifts for the unveiling of his soul." [a]

So, then, the noble Socrates goes a-hunting, employing the woman of Miletus as his preceptor in love, instead of being hunted himself, as Plato has said, being caught in Alcibiades' net. And what is more, he does not leave off weeping, being, I fancy, unfortunate in his pursuit. For seeing what a state he was in, Aspasia says: "Why art thou all tears, dear Socrates? Can it be that the thunderbolt of desire, rankling in thy breast, stirs thee up—the bolt which crashed from the eyes of the lad invincible, whom I promised to make tame for thee?" And that Socrates really had a passion for Alcibiades is disclosed by Plato in the *Protagoras*, although Alcibiades was little short of thirty years old. Plato says [b]: "Where do you come from, Socrates? But I know for certain: you have come from the hunt, and the beauty of Alcibiades is your quarry. As a matter of fact, when I saw the man the other day he looked handsome still, though a man, between ourselves, Socrates, who is already covered with a beard under his chin. SOCRATES. Well, what of it? Don't you approve Homer when he says [c] that the most beautiful age is that of the bearded man, the age which Alcibiades himself has now attained?"

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[a] Referring to the gifts brought by the bridegroom when the bride removed her veil.

[b] *Prot.* 309 A; a nameless friend speaks.

[c] *Od.* x. 279.

Πεφύκασι δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν
κωμικῶν κακήγοροι μᾶλλον εἶναι, εἴ γε καὶ
Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐν μὲν τῷ Τηλαύγει
Κριτόβουλον τὸν Κρίτωνος ἐπ' ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ
ῥυπαρότητι βίου κωμῳδεῖ, τὸν δὲ Τηλαύγην
αὐτὸν ἱματίου μὲν φορήσεως καθ' ἡμέραν ἡμιωβέλιον
κναφεῖ τελοῦντα μισθόν, κωδίῳ[1] δὲ ἐζωσμένον
καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα σπαρτίοις ἐνημμένον
b σαπροῖς, εὐτελέστατον ὄντα[2] ῥήτορα οὐ μετρίως
διαγελᾷ. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσπασίᾳ Ἱππόνικον μὲν τὸν
Καλλίου κοάλεμον προσαγορεύει, τὰς δ' ἐκ τῆς
Ἰωνίας γυναῖκας συλλήβδην μοιχάδας καὶ κερδαλέας.
ὁ δὲ Καλλίας αὐτοῦ περιέχει τὴν τοῦ
Καλλίου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διαφορὰν καὶ τὴν
Προδίκου καὶ Ἀναξαγόρου τῶν σοφιστῶν διαμώκησιν.
λέγει γὰρ ὡς ὁ μὲν Πρόδικος Θηραμένην
μαθητὴν ἀπετέλεσεν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος Φιλόξενον
τὸν Ἐρύξιδος καὶ Ἀριφράδην τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀριγνώτου
c τοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦ, θέλων ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δηλωθέντων[3]
μοχθηρίας καὶ περὶ τὰ φαῦλα λιχνείας
ἐμφανίσαι τὴν τῶν παιδευσάντων διδασκαλίαν.
ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀξιόχῳ πικρῶς Ἀλκιβιάδου κατατρέχει
ὡς οἰνόφλυγος καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας γυναῖκας
σπουδάζοντος.

Ἀντισθένης δ' ἐν θατέρῳ τῶν Κύρων κακολογῶν
Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ παράνομον εἶναι λέγει[4] καὶ
εἰς γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν. συνεῖναι
γάρ φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ μητρὶ καὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ ἀδελ-

[1] κωδίῳ Casaubon: κωμωιδία A.

[2] εὐτελέστατον ὄντα Kaibel: καὶ τελέσαντα τὸν A.

[3] δηλωθέντων A: διδαχθέντων?

[4] λέγει C: λέγων A.

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[a] p. 25 Hermann, 54 Krauss.

[b] p. 16 Hermann, 45 Krauss.

Most philosophers have a natural tendency to be more abusive than the comic poets; for example, Aeschines, the disciple of Socrates, derides Critobulus the son of Crito in the *Telauges*[a] for his boorishness and sordid manner of life; while as for Telauges himself, Aeschines ridicules him, who was a very poor orator, in no measured terms, for wearing a cloak for which he pays a fuller a farthing daily, and then puts on a belted sheepskin coat, his shoes being tied with frayed laces. Again, in the *Aspasia*,[b] he calls Hipponicus, the son of Callias, a booby, and says sweepingly that the women who come from Ionia are adulterous and avaricious. And his *Callias*[c] contains the contrast drawn between Callias[d] and his father, also the bitter mockery against the sophists Prodicus and Anaxagoras. He says, namely, that Prodicus produced as his pupil Theramenes, while the other had Philoxenus[e] the son of Eryxis, and Ariphrades the brother of the harp-singer Arignotus; his intention being to show the kind of instruction given by these teachers from the wickedness and the itch for depravity in those whom he named.[f] In the *Axiochus*,[g] again, he bitterly disparages Alcibiades as a drunken sot and an eager pursuer of other men's wives.

Antisthenes, too, in the treatise on the second Cyrus, abuses Alcibiades and says that he was perverted in his relations with women as well as in his mode of life generally. He even says that Alcibiades lay with his mother, his daughter, and

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[c] p. 12 Hermann, 50 Krauss.

[d] Now become poor; he had inherited great wealth from his father Hipponicus.

[e] *Cf.* Athen. 239 f, 241 e.

[f] or, "those who were taught"; see crit. note.

[g] p. 20 Hermann, 40 Krauss.

d φῇ, ὡς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς αὐτοῦ διάλογος ἁπάντων καταδρομὴν περιέχει τῶν Ἀθήνησιν δημαγωγῶν, ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἡ δ' Ἀσπασία τῶν Περικλέους υἱῶν Ξανθίππου καὶ Παράλου διαβολήν. τούτων γὰρ τὸν μὲν Ἀρχεστράτου φησὶν εἶναι συμβιωτὴν τοῦ παραπλήσια ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν μικρῶν οἰκημάτων ἐργαζομένου, τὸν δ' Εὐφήμου συνήθη καὶ γνώριμον τοῦ φορτικὰ σκώπτοντος καὶ ψυχρὰ τοὺς συναντῶντας. καὶ Πλάτωνα δὲ μετονομάσας Σάθωνα ἀσυρῶς καὶ e φορτικῶς, τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν διάλογον ἐξέδωκε κατ' αὐτοῦ. τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς σύμβουλος εἶναι δοκεῖ, οὐ στρατηγὸς φρόνιμος,[1] οὐ σοφιστὴς ἀξιόλογος, οὐ ποιητὴς ὠφέλιμος, οὐ δῆμος εὐλόγιστος ἀλλ' ἢ[2] Σωκράτης ὁ μετὰ τῶν Ἀσπασίας αὐλητρίδων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων συνδιατρίβων καὶ Πίστωνι τῷ θωρακοποιῷ διαλεγόμενος καὶ Θεοδότην διδάσκων τὴν ἑταίραν ὡς δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς παλεύειν,[3] ὡς Ξενοφῶν παρίστησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ αὐτὸν παραγγέλματα f τῇ Θεοδότῃ λέγοντα, ἃ οὔτε Νικὼ ἡ Σαμία ἢ Καλλιστράτη ἡ Λεσβία ἢ Φιλαινὶς ἡ Λευκαδία, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Πυθόνικος συνεωράκασιν πόθων θέλγητρα· οὗτοι γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα ἠσχόληντο περιττῶς. ἐπιλείποι δ' ἂν μ' ὁ πᾶς χρόνος[4] εἰ ἐκτίθεσθαι βουληθείην τὰς σεμνὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων μέμψεις. κατὰ γὰρ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Πλάτωνα· "ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ὄχλος μοι τοιούτων Γοργόνων καὶ 221 Πηγάσων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμηχάνων πλήθει τε καὶ

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[1] φρόνιμος Casaubon: ὁ μῖμος A: οὐ μῖμος C.

[2] ἀλλ' ἢ Schweighäuser: ἀλλὰ AC.

his sister, as Persians do. The dialogue on the *Statesman*, by Antisthenes, contains a denunciation of all the demagogues at Athens; the *Archelaus*, of the orator Gorgias; the *Aspasia*, slanders against Xanthippus and Paralus, the sons of Pericles. One of them, he says, lived with Archestratus, who plied a trade similar to that of women in the cheaper brothels; the other was the boon companion of Euphemus, who used to make vulgar and heartless jokes at the expense of all whom he met. Again, Antisthenes changed the name of Plato to Satho, a filthy, vulgar word, and published the dialogue against him under this title. For in the eyes of these gentry no statesman is honest, no general is wise, no sophist is worth considering, no poet is good for anything, no populace is capable of reason; only Socrates is—he who consorts with Aspasia's flute-girls at the workshops, or converses with Piston the cuirass-maker, or instructs the courtesan Theodote how to lure her lovers, as Xenophon represents him in the second book of the *Memorabilia*.[a] For he makes him recommend to Theodote measures such as neither Nico the Samian beauty, nor Callistrate the Lesbian, nor Philaenis the Leucadian, nor even Pythonicus the Athenian, ever conceived as lures to desire; for all these persons used to busy themselves very devotedly with these questions. But all eternity would fail me if I should undertake to set forth the pompous censures of the philosophers. To quote Plato himself,[b] "A crowd of similar Gorgons and winged horses and other fabulous creatures,

[a] iii. 10. 9; 11. 15.

[b] *Phaedr.* 229 D.

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[3] *παλεύειν* Jacobs: *ἀπολαύειν* A.

[4] *μ' ὁ πᾶς χρόνος* Dindorf: *με πᾶς χρόνος* A, *με πᾶς ὁ χρόνος* C.

ἀτοπίᾳ[1] τερατολόγων τινῶν φύσεων." διόπερ κατασιωπήσομαι.

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μασουρίου εἰπόντος καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων θαυμασθέντος διὰ σοφίαν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς σιωπῆς γενομένης ἔφη· "δοκεῖτέ μοι, ἄνδρες δαιτυμόνες, σφοδροῖς κατηντλῆσθαι λόγοις παρὰ προσδοκίαν βεβαπτίσθαι τε τῷ ἀκράτῳ·

> ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἕλκων οἶνον ὡς ὕδωρ ἵππος
> Σκυθιστὶ φωνεῖ, οὐδὲ κόππα γινώσκων·
> κεῖται δ' ἄναυδος ἐν πίθῳ κολυμβήσας,
> b κάθυπνος ὡς μήκωνα φάρμακον[2] πίνων,

φησὶν ὁ Βυζάντιος Παρμένων. ἢ ἀπολελίθωσθε ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων Γοργόνων; περὶ ὧν ὡς[3] ὄντως γεγόνασί τινα ζῷα ἀπολιθώσεως ἀνθρώποις αἴτια, ἱστορεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν δευτέρῳ πτηνῶν[4] ἱστορίας οὕτως· "τὴν γοργόνα τὸ ζῷον καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ Νομάδες, ὅπου καὶ γίνεται, κατώβλεπον.[5] ἐστὶν δέ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς δορᾶς σημειούμενοι, προβάτῳ ἀγρίῳ ὅμοιον, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι, μόσχῳ. ἔχειν δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸ τοιαύτην ἀναπνοὴν ὥστε πάντα τὸν c ἐντυχόντα τῷ ζῴῳ διαφθείρειν. φέρειν δὲ χαίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου καθειμένην ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἣν ὁπόταν μόγις διασεισαμένη διὰ τὴν βαρύτητα

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[1] πλήθει τε καὶ ἀτοπίᾳ AC: πλήθη τε καὶ ἀτοπίαι Plato.
[2] φάρμακον Casaubon: φαρμάκων AC.
[3] ὡς added by Musurus.
[4] πτηνῶν Schoenemann, *cf.* 388 d: κτηνῶν AC.
[5] κατώβλεπον Kaibel (*cf.* Aelian, *N.A.* vii. 5): κάτω βλέπον A.

incomprehensible in number and strangeness."[a] Wherefore I will lapse into silence.

After Masurius had delivered this long harangue[b] and had been complimented by all on his knowledge, silence ensued, and then Ulpian spoke: "It seems to me, fellow-diners, that you have unexpectedly 'been deluged with violent words'[c] and soused in the wine unmixed: 'For a man who guzzles wine as a horse does water speaks gibberish and cannot recognize a single letter[d]; speechless he lies immersed in the cask, sunken in sleep like one who drinks the poppy drug.' So speaks Parmenon of Byzantium.[e] Or have you been turned into stone by the Gorgons just mentioned? And speaking of Gorgons, Alexander of Myndus records that certain animals really exist capable of turning men into stone. In the second book of his *Inquiry into Birds* he says: 'The gorgon is the creature which the Numidians of Libya, where it occurs, call "downlooker." As the majority aver, drawing their comparison from its skin, it is like a wild sheep; but some say that it is like a calf. They say, too, that it has a breath so strong that it destroys any one who meets the animal. And it carries a mane hanging from its forehead over the eyes; whenever it shakes this aside, as it does with difficulty because of its weight, and catches sight of anything, it kills

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[a] Or "winged horses and quantities of other impossibles, and strange shapes of fabulous creatures." See crit. note.

[b] Beginning at 196 a.

[c] See Demiańczuk, *Suppl. Com.* 114.

[d] lit. "knows not koppa," the letter which became Q in the Latin alphabet.

[e] Frag. 1 Powell; the verses are choliambic. *Cf.* Herodas 3, of the truant schoolboy: ἐπίσταται δ' οὐδ' ἄλφα συλλαβὴν γνῶναι, "he can't make out even the letter A."

ἐμβλέψῃ, κτείνει τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς[1] θεωρηθέντα οὐ τῷ πνεύματι, ἀλλὰ τῇ γιγνομένῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων φύσεως[2] φορᾷ καὶ νεκρὸν ποιεῖ. ἐγνώσθη δὲ οὕτως. τῶν μετὰ Μαρίου τινὲς ἐπὶ Ἰογόρθαν στρατευσαμένων ἰδόντες τὴν γοργόνα δόξαντές τε διὰ τὸ κάτω νενευκέναι βραδέως τε κινεῖσθαι ἄγριον εἶναι πρόβατον ὥρμησαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ ὡς κατεργασόμενοι
d οἷς εἶχον ξίφεσι. τὸ δὲ πτοηθὲν διασεισάμενόν τε τὴν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐπικειμένην χαίτην παραχρῆμα ἐποίησε τοὺς ὁρμήσαντας ἐπ’ αὐτὸ νεκρούς. πάλιν δὲ καὶ πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιησάντων ἑτέρων νεκρῶν τε γενηθέντων, [3]ἀεὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἀπολλυμένων, ἱστορήσαντές τινες παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὴν τοῦ ζῴου φύσιν, μακρόθεν ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτὸ ἱππῆς τινες[3] Νομάδες Μαρίου κελεύσαντος κατηκόντισαν ἧκόν τε φέροντες πρὸς τὸν
e στρατηγὸν τὸ θηρίον.’ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὡς ἦν ἄρα τοιοῦτο ἡ δορὰ ἥ τε Μαρίου στρατεία μηνύει. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου οὐκ ἔστι πιστόν, ὡς εἰσί τινες κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ὀπισθονόμοι καλούμενοι βόες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοὺς πορευομένους νέμεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰς τοὐπίσω ὑποχωροῦντας τοῦτο ποιεῖν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν νομὴν τὰ κέρατα οὐκ ἄνω ἀνακεκυφότα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ζῴων, ἀλλὰ κάτω νενευκότα καὶ ἐπισκοτοῦντα τοῖς ὄμμασι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἄπιστόν ἐστιν, οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος ἱστορικοῦ.”

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[1] ὑπ’ αὐτῆς not in C; we expect ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

[2] φύσεως not in C: ψύξεως φορᾷ Lumb, “by darting a cold chill.”

[3] The text from ἀεὶ to ἱππῆς τινες is defective.

whatever is seen from beneath it [a]; not by its breath, but by the influence which emanates from the peculiar nature [b] of its eyes; and it turns the object into a corpse. It came to be known in this wise. Some soldiers in the expedition of Marius against Jugurtha [c] saw the gorgon, and supposing that it was a wild sheep,[d] since its head was bent low and it moved slowly, they rushed forward to get it, thinking that they could kill it with what swords they had. But the creature, being startled, shook the mane which lay over its eyes and immediately turned to corpses the men who had rushed upon it. Again and again other persons did the same thing and became corpses; and since all who attacked it at close quarters always died, some made inquiry of the natives about the nature of the animal; whereupon [b] some Numidian horsemen, at the command of Marius, lay in ambush for it at a distance and shot it; they then returned with the animal to the commander.' That this creature was, to be sure, of the character described is certified both by its skin and by the expedition under Marius. But that other report given by this investigator is not credible; he says that in Libya there are backward-grazing cattle, so called because they do not move forward when they graze, but do it retreating backwards; for, says he, their horns are a hindrance to grazing in the natural way, since they do not curve upwards like those of all other animals, but incline downwards and shade their eyes. This is really incredible, since no other inquirer confirms it."

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[a] Or, "seen by it"; see critical note.

[b] See critical note.

[c] 107 B.C.

[d] This indicates the Barbary wild sheep, rather than the gnu.

f Ταῦτα τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ εἰπόντος ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ὁ Λαρήνσιος καὶ συγκατατιθέμενος τῷ λόγῳ ἔφη τὸν Μάριον τῶν ζῴων τούτων δορὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναπεπομφέναι, ἃς μηδένα εἰκάσαι δεδυνῆσθαι τίνος εἰσὶ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ὄψεως· ἀνατεθεῖσθαί τε τὰς δορὰς ταύτας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τοὺς θριάμβους κατάγοντες στρατηγοὶ 222 ἑστιῶσι τοὺς πολίτας, καθάπερ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμεδαπῶν ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασιν· "ὑμεῖς οὖν, ὦ γραμματικοί, κατὰ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Ἡρόδικον, μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἱστοροῦντες,

φεύγετ', Ἀριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάττης
Ἑλλάδα, τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος,
γωνιοβόμβυκες, μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμηλε
τὸ σφὶν καὶ τὸ σφῷν[1] καὶ τὸ μὶν ἠδὲ τὸ νίν.
τοῦθ' ὑμῖν εἴη δυσπέμφελον[2]· Ἡροδίκῳ δὲ
Ἑλλὰς ἀεὶ μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβυλών."—

κατὰ γὰρ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιὸν Ἀναξανδρίδην·

b ἡδονὴν ἔχει,
ὅταν τις εὕρῃ καινὸν ἐνθύμημά τι,
δηλοῦν ἅπασιν· οἱ δ' ἑαυτοῖσιν[3] σοφοὶ
πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσι τῆς τέχνης κριτήν,
εἶτα φθονοῦνται. χρὴ γὰρ εἰς ὄχλον φέρειν
ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ἄν τις καινότητ' ἔχειν δοκῇ.

ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἀναχωροῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ λεληθότως διέλυσαν τὴν συνουσίαν.

[1] *καὶ τὸ σφῷν* Pierson: *καὶ σφῶιν* AC.

[2] *δυσπέμφελον* A: *δυσπέμφελ*$\overset{ον}{οι}$ C, Zenodotus.

[3] *δ' ἑαυτοῖσιν* Porson: *δὲ αὑτοῖσιν* A.

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[a] *i.e.* old pronominal forms; *σφὶν*=old dat. plural, "to

These remarks of Ulpian were confirmed and attested in so many words by Larensis, who said that Marius had sent skins of these animals back to Rome, and that no one could guess to what animal they belonged, so extraordinary was their appearance; he further said that these skins hang dedicated in the temple of Hercules, where commanders celebrating their triumphs feast the citizens, as many poets and historians of Rome have told. "As for you then, my pedants, you don't look into these matters; in the words of the Babylonian Herodicus, 'Fly, sons of Aristarchus, fly from Hellas over the broad back of the ocean, more craven than the tawny lechive antelope, buzzing in corners, mumbling monosyllables, whose sole business is the difference between "ye" and "you" and "it" and "hit"[a]; may your journey be rough[b] through these waters, but as for Herodicus, long live Hellas and Babylon, child of the gods.'"[c]—Indeed, as the comic poet Anaxandrides[d] says: "It is a pleasure, when one discovers a new idea, to proclaim it to all; but those who keep their wisdom to themselves have, first, no critic to judge their new device, and, secondly, they are looked upon with ill-will. One should publish to the crowd all things, when one thinks he has a novelty." At these words most of the guests withdrew, and gradually dissolved the party.

them"; *σφῷν*, old dat. dual, "to you twain"; *μιν*, Ionic acc. sing. (rarely plur.), "him," "her," "it": *νιν*, Doric acc. sing., "him," "her," "it."

[b] *Cf. Il.* xvi. 748 *εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη*, "though the sea be rough."

[c] Here ends the critique of Plato and the Alexandrians by Herodicus the Pergamene, begun at 215 c, with one slight interruption, 217 f–218 a.

[d] Kock ii. 159.

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